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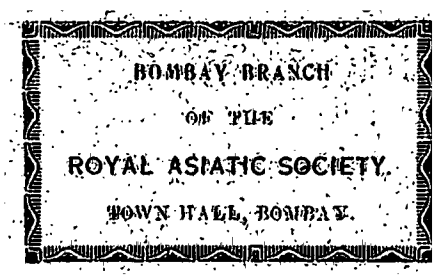

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THE

FIRST AGE OF THE CHURCH.

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THE FIRST AGE OF CHRISTIANITY AND THE CHURCH.

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"Attendite ad petram unde excisi estis, et ad cavernam laci de quâ præcisi estis."

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SECOND BOOK.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE APOSTLES.

CHAPTER III.

DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH AND THE SACRAMENTS.

The Christian Church was to be formed out of two great races of men previously divided, Jews and Gentiles. They did not enter it as two rivals of equal birth, rights and privileges, but the one party were those long favoured and chosen out, "whose were the adopted sonship, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the worship, and the promises, whose are the fathers, and from whom is Christ according to the flesh." But the others were without Christ, who had long dwelt spiritually among the people of Israel as the Eternal Word of the Father and the Messiah who was to come; they were strangers shut out from the rights of citizens, aliens to the covenants of promise, without hope and without God in the world. But now is the partition wall broken down, and the stranger brought nigh; they

are engrafted on the chosen people as branches of the wild olive tree. Both now are joint citizens of the one kingdom of Israel, both form one household of God, and the whole building, harmoniously fitted together, "increases to a holy temple in the Lord." This image of a temple often recurs with the apostles, for to them the Christian community is the dwelling-place of the Holy Ghost, as before the Shekinah of the Jewish temple was. Thus, Peter calls the believers living stones of which the temple is built.[1]

From one family sprung a pilgrim band, from that a people first of slaves, then of warriors and conquerors, with its sanctuary in a movable tabernacle, then in the house of Shiloh, then in the temple of Jerusalem. Once carried away into distant captivity, then after return and national restoration made the plaything of the Heathen, it was now leading a double life, one of civil nationality in Judæa, another in the dispersion, where Israel Hellenized and surrounded by a circle of Gentile proselytes, after a century and a half, was ripening for the office of converting the Gentiles and forming with them one vast Church. That the great majority would reject this call was to be expected, and did not hinder the continuity of the Church. The Prophets had only promised to "a remnant" glorious triumphs and successes among the Heathen; and Paul knew it, for he said in reference to the seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal, "thus is there a

[1] Rom. ix. 4, 5.; xi. 23. Eph. ii. 12, 20, 21. Cf. Col. i. 21. 1 Pet. ii. 5.

remnant according to His gracious choice."[1] In fact many, nay all, were called, only few chosen. But the Church remained, and as Judaism rejected the universal religion now become a world-wide kingdom, the quickening Spirit withdrew from them. The animated body still held the members together, but the power of religious fecundity was withered; all that stirred in the corpse was casuistry, Talmud, Rabbinical lore. All the life was in the Church, where law was changed into grace, fear into love, types and symbols into realities; shadow had turned to substance, God's sanctifying power was not simply displayed but given; all that was accidental or temporary in the institutions and precepts of the ancient people passed away, all that had an universal and permanent human significance was retained, enlarged and elevated. Christ had so arranged that His death and resurrection coincided with one great annual festival and the descent of the Holy Ghost with the other; He had given His Church the form of a well-ordered kingdom, preserving an hierarchical and liturgical character, and thus being not a mere continuation of the Synagogue—for the mighty event of the Incarnation and the powers derived from it intervened—but the ancient Church in substance, raised to a higher stage of life by the threefold process of elevation, confirmation and improvement.

Thus was the Christian Church in the bosom of the Jewish like the unborn child in its mother's womb. The time allowed to the Synagogue was not run out

[1] Joel ii. 32. Mic v. 8. Zach. viii. 12. Rom. xi. 2—5.

even after the authorities and their adherents at Jerusalem had rejected the Messiah. The apostles did not wish either to separate themselves or their converts from communion with the indissolubly united civil and ecclesiastical polity of Judaism; they visited the temple and took part in its sacrificial worship; even the first Gentile converts when at Jerusalem might worship the true God in the temple. So stood the Church of Christ in its preparatory and transitional period, with its first and more honourable part, the Jewish, abiding within the synagogue, but with its younger and second part, the Gentile, already outside the Synagogue and independent of it.

Christ spoke of His Church as a kingdom, great and powerful, superior to all hostile attacks, with the keys consigned to Peter; He told His apostles they would sit as princes and judges in that kingdom on thrones judging the tribes of (the bodily and spiritual) Israel, and that their judgment would hold good in heaven. His Kingdom, as being the perpetual revelation through all history of His power and glory, would not be of this world, not related in origin and constitution to other earthly kingdoms, but founded directly from above and destined to outlast all other kingdoms. After having come to the Jews, its born heirs, it shall be taken from them, as a people, and given to nations who will receive it. But the kingdom of Christ is also one in warfare; it shall not only never be destroyed according to Christ's promise, but it shall crush and consume all kingdoms that oppose it; its King shall rule the nations with an iron sceptre and break them in pieces as a

potter's vessel.[1] He shall break what will not bend, His Church shall come into contact with all national kingdoms, into conflict with many, but shall always conquer in the end; it will either work an internal change in those kingdoms, or, if they refuse change and renewal, it will overset and dissolve them.

By degrees all peoples will be incorporated into this Church. It will not vegetate as a hidden sect, nor prolong its existence as a silent company of individual souls deeming themselves elect, but will be wide and capacious enough as a world-church to assimilate and ennoble every nationality, every disposition and energy of human nature. It was to be the great institution for educating mankind, and was to penetrate and purify by its spirit, civil polity and right, marriage and morals, civilization and science, every form of moral life, every principle and product of national and individual life and activity. Originating from a people whose very existence was created and sustained by religion only, it had from the first to maintain and develope its destiny in bitter conflict and struggle with that tough nationality so firm and so exclusive, and afterwards to expand into a world-kingdom built on the ruins of conquered nationalities and transcending all their limits. Thus the Church escaped the danger of being confined to a narrow and repulsive form of nationality in its youth, and of being thereby estranged from its universal mission and rendered unfit for it.

[1] Matt. xvi. 18, 19.; xii. 28.; xxi. 43. John xviii. 36. Dan. ii. 44. Cf. Isa. lx. 12. Apoc. xix. 15. Ps. ii. 9—11.

Christ had chosen for His Church the significant image of the mustard-seed, the smallest among the seeds of the fields and gardens of Judæa, from which grew a shrub which often there became a tree; thus was His Church, from the smallest circumference, from a tiny germ which yet included in itself, dynamically and substantially, its whole successive development, to expand into a mighty tree, overshadowing the peoples. He added the image of leaven, which quietly, secretly, and irresistibly, not without a process of fermentation, by degrees leavens the whole mass of humanity.[1] But the richest and most instructive image is that which Paul prefers, of an organised body, the body of Christ, and filled with His Spirit, where type and antitype partly coincide.[2] The multiplicity of members in this body does not affect its unity, but is rather necessary for constituting and preserving it. And with unity is joined, by God's will, the greatest variety of vocations and gifts, offices and participation, greater or less, in the common life of the whole. All are thus closely connected with each other and the common life of Christ, which permeates them. All are to work together in harmony, each according to his own speciality and office; no member may separate itself, wish to stand alone, and follow selfish ends, or usurp the functions of others. Particular members, and many of them, may be diseased and corrupt, so that the body becomes disfigured and its vital force withdrawn from

[1] Matt. xiii. 31, 33. Mark iv. 31.

[2] Col. i. 18—22. 1 Cor. xii. 12—27; x. 17. Rom. xii. 5. Eph. i. 23; v. 23.

those suffering or dislocated members; but unless they actually divide themselves they remain under the healing, or at least health-offering, influence of the sound members and the common organism.

The end and office of this body is described by Paul as growing to the maturity of "a perfect man." The body is being continually "built up," or in constant growth, till its members finally reach that measure or stage of progress where they are made partakers of the fulness of Christ. This expresses a movement of the Church, constantly advancing throughout the course of the world's history,—a growing maturity up to that age when Christ, who filleth all in all, will impart to her the whole riches of His being and His gifts, and fill her with Himself as a vessel containing nothing else.[1]

While Paul speaks of Christ loving His bride, the Church, and giving Himself for her, he represents the Lord's action on the Church as a constantly advancing purification and adornment, that His bride may appear worthy of Him in blameless beauty, without spot or wrinkle.[2] Therefore she is always holy, because Christ is always sanctifying her, and in Him, as her Head, she always possesses the Source of sanctity, because her indwelling Spirit is the "Holy" Ghost; because, in doctrine, means of grace, discipline and authority, every instrument of holiness is given her; because this fulness of moral powers and mighty equipment of the Church is in constant warfare with sin and can never be over-

[1] Eph. i. 23; iv. 13. εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ

[2] Eph. v. 27.

come by it. However great the power of evil and the number of evil men in the Church, they cannot destroy her objective sanctity, darken the light of her teaching, or kill the living power of her ordinances and means of grace. The representation of the Church as the Bride of Christ indicates her relation to Him as a nuptial one; and the great marriage feast will be solemnized at the end of the world, when, as the chosen consort of the Lord, she will take her proper part in His glory.[1] She has received as dowry those powers she uses, and means of grace she dispenses now, as His steward. As woman is taken from man, and in marriage is corporally made one with him, so that in loving his wife he loves himself; so is it with Christ and the Church. It is a chain of few but sure links that binds believers indissolubly to Christ. Every Christian can say he is a member of the body of the Church, which is the body of Christ, and is also the bride of Christ who possesses and enjoys the goods of her spouse; that he has part in all her privileges, means of grace, and powers of healing. All is yours, says the apostle, but ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's.[2] That "all" can at any moment be lost, and he who was a member of Christ's body, by his own fault, become a castaway.

From sin, self-seeking, the wilful and unregulated understanding and imagination of man, left to himself, sprang the number and diversity of religions; from the holiness and unity of God sprang the unity of the Church

[1] Apoc. xii. 1 sqq; xix. 7, 8; xxi. 2, 9. Eph. v. 29 sqq.
[2] 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.

in faith, morals, and divine worship. What man put asunder God joined together. In the unity of his Church was recognised the seal impressed on His creation, whose being is unity, whose will is order and love, whereby He has bound into one the centrifugal forces in men. The organic unity bestowed on the Church is, as a divine work, indestructible; persons, parties, whole communities, and portions of the Church, might depart,—they could not take away with them at their departure, in whole or in part, her promises and gifts, or the Spirit who ever dwells in her; they could not divide the Church, or introduce a number of Churches or bodies of the Lord, or take up a position as rival Churches of that which is ever one, steadfast in her continuity and the ordered succession of her apostolate. They fell off, as many branches from one tree,—the tree remained and bore new shoots with inexhaustible vitality.

The visible and invisible elements are indivisibly united in the Church, and do not form two Churches. Christ came Himself as a Light into the darkness of the world, and founded the Church, to be seen and accepted as the common teacher and educator of all peoples, the city on a mountain, which could not be hid; the candlestick not to be put under a bushel, but to give light to all; her word, her institutions, her ordinances, her pastors and teachers, her usages and instruments— all were to be visible and tangible. But she was also to have her invisible side; above all, her Head, Christ, was an invisible One, and she herself, militant in this world, triumphant in the next, belonged with her other half to

the invisible domain.[1] Her continuity and identity with the Church of earlier ages and generations, her lofty prerogatives, as the body of Christ and organ of the Holy Ghost, and the power of her ordinances, lay beyond the reach of sensible perception, and could only be believed and experienced as a result of faith. And yet the Church guaranteed and witnessed to herself. Her testimony consisted in her peculiar gifts, her appearance, voice, the impression made upon men, and her power over spirits; those were her credentials, the guarantee of her claim, her lofty origin and mission. Christ spoke "as One having authority,"[2] and so her word, too, was authoritative and irresistible; men believed her, often not till after long resistance; but they *felt* her: understanding and will had to bend before the majesty of a Queen who won souls alike by love and by reverence.

The old prophecies met in the assurance that Messiah's kingdom would be an everlasting kingdom, His dominion and glory have no end. The Founder of the new Church did not omit to renew the assurance to those who believed on Him, that the house He built for them would be one that could not be shaken, and had every security against destruction, and that in it they would be guaranteed against every danger of error or of being misled. He had before praised him as a prudent man, who built his house not on the sand, but on the rock, where alone it could brave all storms. He declared that His own house, the Church, should be built on a rock, and that the law of decay, death and dissolution, to which

[1] Matt. v. 14, 15. Eph. iii. 15. Heb. xii. 22. [2] Matt. vii. 29.

everything else is liable (the gates of Hell), should have no power over it. When about to leave the earth, He added in solemn and majestic manner to His commission, given to those ordained for its administration, a promise whose terms are so distinct, unconditional and comprehensive, that it became the Magna Charta of His Church. "All power is given to Me in heaven and on earth; go, therefore, make disciples of all nations, baptizing them—teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And lo, I am with you always, to the end of the world."[1] Such words have only once been spoken to men, and, after eighteen centuries, they have an echo still in the soul of every believer. He to whom all earthly power is committed, will not forsake His Church; He will let no enemy subdue, no persecutor destroy, no error darken it; for her teaching and office of handing down revealed truth, pure and uncorrupted, to all peoples and all generations He has promised her for ever His presence and almighty aid. He has explained more exactly the manner and kind of that presence; while He goes to the Father, the Paraclete, the Spirit of truth, descends, sent by Him to dwell for ever in the Church, whose office is to guide her into all the truth, to bring to remembrance all that Christ has spoken, and proclaim His teaching. Thus, since the first Pentecost, the Church has a divine Teacher and Guide, and is the organ whereby the Holy Ghost instructs believers. This gives the Christian Church a great superiority over the Jewish, which was not the body

[1] Matt. vii. 24; xvi. 18; xxviii. 19, 20. John xiv. 26; xvi. 13—15.

of the Incarnate Son, with Him for Head, nor filled and taught by the Holy Ghost.

Paul knows a house of God on earth, but it is no more the people of the Old Covenant; Israel is no longer the community where God has His dwelling, but the Christian people, "the Church of the living God," which is the "pillar and ground of the truth." Outside this Church is falsehood and deceit, or truth defenceless, mixed with error, and left a prey to human caprice, alteration and disfigurement. But the one Church, and that alone among earthly institutions, is the vessel where the truth will be ever preserved unadulterated, for Christ is her indivisible Head, and the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, is her Lord, her Light and Life. And thus the stream of truth, as of grace, flows for ever in the Church. The substance of what Christ taught, and His apostles preached, is become an abiding illumination, a light that never leaves the Church, and never turns to darkness. Outside, not within the Church, is that state realised which Paul described, where men "are carried about by every wind of doctrine," given over to "the deceitfulness and cunning craft of men." In the Church Christ has appointed a ministry, for the edification of His body, till we all come to the unity of the faith and knowledge of the Son of God, to man's estate, and the full measure of Christian maturity.[1]

Christ took upon Himself for our salvation the threefold office of Prophet, Priest, and King; in each He is alone and unapproachable, and each He continually

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 15. Eph. iv. 14, 15.

exercises. Raised to heaven, and free from all limits of time and space, He is the One great Prophet of His Church, who sustains what He has once created, who by His Spirit and His abiding presence with His Church till the end of the world continually teaches and guards the truth and purity of her doctrine. He is the One High Priest, who presents before the Father His sacrifice completed on earth, who stands ever before the Father to intercede for men, and bestow grace upon them. He is lastly, the One King and Lord of the world and the Church, who has all things under His feet, who rules the Church with almighty power and omniscient wisdom, and carries out all within it to the great result. All believers of all ages are disciples of that Prophet, subjects of that King, partakers in the sacrifice of that High Priest. But they are such through the ministry of His earthly representatives, who exercise His prophetic office through constant preaching of His doctrine, His royalty by governing His Church, His priesthood by presenting and dispensing His sacrifice. This threefold office is united in the apostolate, for the Church is His Body, the fulness fulfilled of Him "who filleth all in all."[1]

Christ alone has suffered for men, and yet Paul could say that he filled up what was wanting of the sufferings of Christ, and every Martyr or sufferer for the truth and weal of the Church could say the same. He is the one Mediator and Intercessor, yet the Church is bidden

[1] Heb. iv. 14; vi. 20; viii. 1 sqq. Rom. viii. 34. 1 Cor. xv. 27. Eph. i. 23. τὸ πλήρωμα, the body wholly filled by Christ with His gifts, offices and powers, containing the fulness of Christ.

to make intercession for all men. He alone can forgive sin, yet "whose sins ye forgive they are forgiven."[1] He alone can regenerate men, yet the ministers of His Church do it in baptism. He alone can give the Bread of Life, yet human hands dispense it in His Church. For that end has Christ formed the Church, His Body, that all her instruments do in His name, by His power and authority, may be His act; that every minister of priestly and ecclesiastical functions may know he can only supply the outward form, while the power and truth of the act belongs to the one Prophet, Priest and King, and the roots of all self-seeking and self-glorification of men may thus be cut off.

And thus their priesthood who are the organs of His Body is on one side the making visible and applying of Christ's priesthood, on the other the representative fulfilment of the common priesthood of believers. In relation to the people, the apostles and their successors represent the Lord; in relation to God, the people. Their earthly organic priesthood is the guarantee and witness at once of the abiding, ever active High-priesthood of Christ, and of the common and acceptable priesthood of all believers. The Church possesses all the blessings of the old Covenant—the Synagogue, temple, and throne of David—in the teaching office, royalty and priesthood, divided there, first united in the Person of Christ, and thus transmitted to those to whom He said, "As My Father hath sent Me, so I send you." In a higher and peculiar sense Christ delivered to the apostles, as

[1] Col. i. 24. 1 Tim. ii. 1. John xx. 23.

He Himself possessed it, that union of spiritual powers, the priestly kingship or royal priesthood. When He took occasion from their strife for pre-eminence to declare that there would always be a "greater" and a "leader" among them, who yet was to behave as servant of all, He added, that they would all have royal and sacerdotal dignity and a supreme rank in His kingdom, "I appoint you a kingdom, as My Father hath appointed Me, that ye may eat and drink at My table in My kingdom, and sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel," which includes the Gentile boughs to be engrafted on the Israelite stock.[1] The two chief rights and offices included in this constitution of the kingdom are the priestly celebration of the Eucharistic feast and sacrifice, and the royal and judicial authority in the Church.

And accordingly Paul infers the right of the Christian ministry to be supported by the laity from the right and usage for those who served the temple to live of the temple, and for the ministers of the altar to partake of the altar.[2] For the Church to him is the true temple of God. But as yet the ancient temple stood, the whole Old Testament sacrificial worship was performed, the High Priest sat in Jerusalem, and the whole Aaronic and Levitical ministry was in untouched, unchallenged possession of its influence, rights and functions, recognised by Christ Himself. The Church was but an expansion of Judaism. Its Jewish members did not cease to be Jews, members of the Church and

[1] Luke xxii. 30. [2] 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

commonwealth of Israel, on becoming Christians. Till the city and temple were destroyed, the time had not come for the apostles to proclaim openly the substitution of the Christian for the Jewish priesthood, and be able to use without scruple the name of priest; the use of the word would only have given offence and caused mistakes, it would have been taken in the legal instead of the Evangelical sense: But when the temple fell, and the Levitical priesthood lost its office and object, the time was come to proclaim aloud the Christian priesthood; then John, at Ephesus, assumed the golden mitre-plate which had been the peculiar ornament of Aaron's successors.[1]

As the Church shares the threefold office of her Head, and is at once temple and priesthood, Peter calls believers a "spiritual house" and "holy priesthood," called to offer spiritual sacrifices pleasing to God through Christ; and he applies to the Church of the new Covenant what was said of the people of Israel, "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people." And in the hymn sung by the Saints in the Apocalyptic vision we read, "Thou redeemedst us to God by Thy blood from every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation, and madest us kings and priests to our God, and we shall reign upon earth."[2] As the Israelite people was named in common "a kingdom of priests," so the whole Chris-

[1] Polycrat. *ap. Eus.* v. 24. Epiphanius says that James, as bishop of Jerusalem, had worn this ornament of the High Priest before the destruction of the City.—[Cf. Exod. xxix. 6. Lev. viii. 9.—Tr.]

[2] 1 Pet. ii. 5, 9, 10. Apoc. v. 10.

tian community, which inherits all privileges and prerogatives of ancient Israel, is called, and is, a nation of kings and priests; it has at present royal dominion over the world, and sin, and the enemies of salvation, in the future the hope of sharing royal honours. "To him that overcometh I will give to sit with Me on My throne;"—"If we suffer with Him, we shall also reign with Him;" nay, according to a strong expression of Paul, believers already in their inward consciousness, and so far as they know how to rule their passions, are seated with and through Christ in heaven. From its priesthood the Christian community has the power and obligation of presenting that offering called by Paul "the reasonable worship," the sacrifice of ourselves, the complete surrender of body and soul to God. This great and all-embracing sacrifice includes that of prayer, of praise,—"the fruit of the lips praising His name,"—and that of love for our neighbour expressed in deeds of kindness and mercy.[1] In this sense every Christian has a priestly vocation, as every citizen of the Old Covenant had; but the common priesthood of Christians is more excellent and a higher dignity, for it is also exercised in the Eucharistic sacrifice of the Church, where the self-oblation of the believer is most intimately united with the oblation of the Person of Christ, and sustained by it. But, as besides the universal priesthood of all Israelites there was the special and peculiar priesthood of the sons of Aaron and Levi, so that one limited and

[1] Apoc. iii. 21; viii. 3, 4. 2 Tim. ii. 12. Eph. ii. 6. Rom. xii. 1 Heb. xiii. 15. James i. 27.

completed the other, so was it also from the first in the Christian Church. All believers had the call and dignity of priests, but the actual office of serving the altar was confined to the apostles, and those they appointed to assist them. Since the Eucharistic celebration was appointed, there was a special priesthood in the Church, an "altar" from which they who served the tabernacle had no right to eat; from thenceforth the fulfilment of the old prophecy had begun, that God would take of strange nations for priests and Levites, and while David's seed should last there should never want a priest to offer daily sacrifice. Thus Paul called himself an Evangelical priest of Jesus Christ among the Gentiles, called to present them as an offering sanctified by the Holy Ghost, acceptable to God. He does not use here his common word, minister, but that used in the Hebrews of the priesthood of Christ, and applies to the priestly ministry of the Gospel another word of exclusively sacerdotal significance.[1]

The institution and transmission of priestly powers was attached to the rite of ordination by laying on of hands, as every act of transference—such as the substitution of the victim for the offerer—was done by laying on of hands; and, again, as the same form was used in blessings and healings as real communications of spirit and life. The Lord healed the sick by the laying on of hands; but when, after His resurrection, He bestowed the Holy Ghost on His apostles—in this case power to

[1] Heb. xiii. 10. Is. lxvi. 21. Jerem. xxxiii. 17, 18. Rom. xv. 16. λειτουργὸν, ἱερουργοῦντα. Cf. Heb. viii. 2.

bind and loose—He did not lay on His hands, but breathed on them with His glorified Body. This beseemed the Lord only, not the apostles; He gave out of the fulness of His own spirit. But the apostles, who could only bestow certain gifts of the Spirit, laid on their hands as well to impart those gifts to new baptized converts, as for the grace of priesthood. Church offices, with their attributes of remitting sin, teaching, administering sacraments and sacrifice, required such an endowment with power from on high, for they rested wholly on the appointment and authority of God, and where He gave a mission He gave His power and blessing to discharge it. A special gift was conferred from which the priest could always, like Timothy, draw fresh power for the worthy and successful administration of his office.[1]

All offices in the Church depended on divine mission; as the apostles were sent, so were all who shared or inherited their functions. All could say, Christ has sent me, directly or indirectly, and I speak because I am bidden of Him in His name. The community did not make its rulers, but the apostles; they and those they sent formed the communities and gave them overseers. "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God exhorted through us." The pastors of the Church must be regarded as servants of Christ, stewards ordained by God to administer mysteries in His house, the Church. The other members of the body neither can nor ought

[1] Luke iv. 40. Mark vi. 5. Cyril *in Joann.* Opp. I. iv. p. 1,095. τὸ ἴδιον πνεῦμα διδοὺς δι' ἐπιφανοῦς ἐμφυσήματος. 2 Tim. i 6.

to usurp their office any more than the hand can discharge the functions of the eye or mouth.[1] On the contrary, in the ever-living and organic body of the Church that subordination and mutual relationship and co-operation must be maintained which its Founder established from the beginning.

Paul says that if the ministry of the Old Testament law, which condemned, was glorious, much more must the Christian ministry of righteousness exceed in glory. That Levitical priesthood was but a shadow of the new one. Of that it is said, "None taketh to himself this honour, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was."[2] The Christian ministry could not be behind the Jewish, which had an unbroken succession and divine authority independent of popular will. The type cannot excel the fulfilment. The stream of succession proceeding from the apostles descends from generation to generation. Christ said for all times, "He that receiveth whomsoever I send receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me;" He gave to all ordained in regular succession the power to bind and loose. And, therefore, the Church has a sure and unvarying doctrine, withdrawn from human caprice, because Christ Himself has appointed her pastors and teachers. Paul clearly foresaw the approach of a time when men after their own selfish lusts would provide themselves teachers who should preach smooth things, but that was a time of apostacy. Only outside the Church and in revolt

[1] 2 Cor. v. 20. 1 Cor. iv. 1; xii. 21.
[2] 2 Cor. iii. 9. Heb. x. 1; v. 4.

against her authority could men form their own ministry, ordered to deliver a new and more flattering doctrine.[1]

Paul exalts his apostolic office and power with the solemn protestation, "I speak the truth in Christ, and lie not," that by virtue of it he may entrust His full powers to His disciples Timothy and Titus for certain portions of the Church; Timothy for Ephesus, and Titus for Crete. They were to teach, and watch over purity of doctrine, to ordain overseers or presbyters, and to provide for the planting and dissemination of the doctrine received from him through fit men qualified for the ministry. But this appointment and commission to discharge Church functions was no mere human precaution or act of fitness. With mission grace also was conferred on those called to the ministry; the Holy Ghost ordained them through human instruments. "Take heed to yourselves and the whole flock in which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood," said Paul to the Ephesian overseers at Miletus; and he warned Timothy not to leave unused the grace bestowed on him by the laying on of hands of himself and the presbytery, but to re-awaken it to activity in himself.[2]

Christ desired in His Church offices, rights, and powers, but not lords to domineer over it. When the

[1] John xiii. 20. Matt. xvi. 19. Eph. iv. 11. 2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 2—4; ii. 1, 2. 1 Tim. i. 3, 4; iii. 1 sqq.; iv. 14. Acts xx. 28.

apostles strove among themselves for pre-eminence, He told them beforehand that one would always be the first and greatest in His Kingdom, but His Kingdom was not to be like the contemporary Gentile kingdoms, nor rank and power in His Church like that of worldly rulers, but the greatest among them must become as the least, the ruler as the servant, even as He became the servant of His disciples. Peter warned the presbyters to be not tyrants, but patterns of the flock.[1] There was to be none of that despotic, arbitrary, selfish authority, no utilizing of the people for the pleasure or convenience of their lords, in the Church of Christ; rulers were to impose no capricious burdens and commands. The authorities Christ ordained were for guidance; they were to fulfil their ministry as pastors and educators, not as lords over the Christian people, in the fear of God and with abiding consciousness of having to give account for it, making the salvation and spiritual growth of their congregations their sole aim, being humble and ready to serve others, but always putting the known will of God above man's will and not courting human favour; they were never to forget that it was their one peculiar privilege to be willing and devoted instruments of God for the benefit of their brethren. On the other hand, they were not to regard their authority as derived from the people, but as coming immediately or mediately from Christ. As the Lord said to His apostles; "Ye have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you," so could the Church's office-bearers say to their people; "It is we, as

[1] Luke xxii. 26, 27. 1 Pet. v. 3.

God's messengers and instruments who taught, converted, baptized you; before you were what you are, we were."

At first the apostles had to use much patience and forbearance with weak and erring members of the Church, even as the Lord had had much patience with them, and had borne in meekness their narrow Jewish prejudices. "If ye be in anything differently minded from the perfect, God will reveal this also to you," Paul says to the Philippians; and in another Epistle he says, that he prays night and day to see them in person, that he may supply the defects of their faith. Individuals and whole communities had to be treated as infants who, for a long time, have no solid food given them, but only milk, who could only receive the first elements of Christian doctrine.[1] But in two points they tolerated no weakness, and insisted on enforcing their requirements;—the duty of confessing the faith, and the exclusion of every heresy. Without confession there was no salvation; "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, with the mouth he confesseth unto salvation," as Paul says, referring to the words of Christ, that He will only confess those before His Father in heaven, who have confessed Him before men. The Hebrew converts are bidden to hold fast their confession without wavering. The chief substance of this confession was Jesus, the Son of God and High Priest manifested in flesh, and raised from the dead,—the resurrection, judgment, repentance, and baptism. But that confession meant more than the mere utterance of

[1] Phil. iii. 15. 1 Thess. iii. 10. 1 Cor. iii. 2.

a formula; a Christian's whole life was to be a continual confession in act, a living mirror of the truth his lips professed. In this sense Paul says, that no man can call Jesus Lord, except by the Holy Ghost; and John, that every spirit which confesses Jesus to have come in flesh is of God.[1]

All members and all portions of the One Church must confess the same truth. The very existence of the Church involved this; a Church with dissimilar and contradictory confessions could never have been held together during the apostles' lifetime, still less after their death. Unity of doctrine, and therefore of creed, was the first condition of the unity of the Church. Hence the earnest exhortation to have the same speech and the same confession, and be established in the same mind and judgment.[2] Of sects, schools, views and systems, the then world was full; all was in ferment and in motion, attesting and repelling by turns, theory followed theory in endless confusion and revolution; all forms of Heathenism, of Pharisaic, Alexandrian, or Gnostic Judaism, courted and catered for the applause of men. There was plenty of room for trial and choice; every one in the proud consciousness of intellectual freedom and self-glorification could try these systems, schools and sects, one after another, and run riot to his heart's content in the doctrines and forms of knowledge; the pompous promises and views

[1] Rom. x. 9, 10. Matt. x. 32. Heb. iv. 14; x. 23; iii. 1. 1 John ii. 23; iv. 2, 15. 1 Cor. xii. 3; i. 10.

[2] 1 Cor. i. 10.

unfolded to him. There was but one thing wanting,—certainty, authority, faith. That could only be found in the Church. When once it was clear and certain to a man that Christ was what He claimed to be, the Truth; that in Him was revealed the nature of God, that in His Church the will of God was represented,—then he gladly gave up all reserve, all bargaining with the doctrine of the Church, and made it his one aim that his mind and will should be ever increasingly penetrated with the truths he believed.

The apostles knew of no patience or indulgence towards false teachers. The word heresy, which had come into use in the Church, and was already adopted in this sense by Peter, is first applied by Paul in the general sense of divisions and parties, but in the Epistle to Titus he means by the "heretical man," whom his disciple is to avoid after one or two admonitions, a false teacher. In the sentence of rejection against every heresy, every doctrine departing from that of the Church, all were agreed. The opponents of apostolic doctrine were "taken captive in Satan's snare," and lost, unless they repented; they sinned willingly; and after admonition had failed, must be expelled from Church communion. Paul formally excommunicated Hymenæus and Alexander, and gave them over to Satan—took from them, that is, all rights and safeguards of Church communion, so that they fell back under the demoniacal influences prevalent outside the Church, "that they might be taught not to blaspheme." And such an exclusion was always to be

adopted, for religious error had, as the apostle expresses it, "an energetic power of deceit," like a strong poison or intoxicating drink, and to guard her children from this disease, was among the first and most imperative duties of the Church.[1] The apostles, therefore, held false teaching to be more mischievous than evil example, because, as a later writer words it, the latter poisons the stream, the former the fountain. Paul says emphatically, "If we or an angel from heaven preach to you another Gospel than that we have preached, let him be accursed." John, with all his gentleness, forbids the community to show hospitality to false teachers, or even to salute them. He calls them Antichrists, and says of those who have fallen away from the Church, "They never really belonged to us, or they would have remained with us."[2]

There could accordingly be no doubt for believers as to the general relations of freedom and obedience towards the Church. Those really converted entered it to obey, and not to rule. Being told expressly that they were members of a body, they knew that it was a self-evident duty and necessity for them, as members, to obey the impulses emanating from the higher organs of the Ecclesiastical body. They knew, as the apostle says, that they were bought for a great price, and were not to become slaves of men; but they recognised and preserved the freedom they had gained with the faith, in

[1] 2 Pet. ii. 1. 1 Cor. xi. 19. Gal. v. 20. 2 Tim. ii. 26. Tit. iii. 11. 1 Tim. i. 19, 20. 2 Thess. ii. 11, ἐνέργειαν πλάνης.

[2] Gal. i. 8, 9. 2 John 9, 10. 1 John ii. 19.

that having become servants of Christ, they submitted humbly and trustfully to the ordinances and laws of His Church, being convinced that Christian freedom consists not in caprice, idiosyncracy and licence, but in yielding to the law ordained for sanctification, and that they would be not weaker but stronger from intimate dependence on the Church, as being upheld and supported by its divine organisation. They knew that the Lord had said, he should be taken for a Heathen and a publican who would not hear the Church, and that Paul had forbidden all communion with one who despised the word of the apostles, while the Hebrew Christians were bidden to reverence from their hearts those ruling over them.[1]

It follows from the nature and design of the Church, that all its members are under a continuous educational influence. The Church is a moral power, holding together all its members in a real fellowship, even those not inwardly good, where on the whole the purifying and sanctifying influences are stronger than the indwelling evil in individuals. It is a great educational institution, not for one particular period of man's life, but for the whole of it, receiving him as a child, and constantly acting on him, cleansing, instructing, building up, and sanctifying through teaching, example, common prayer and worship, and means of grace; constantly nourishing and enlightening his mind, and seeking to strengthen his will, and only leaving him at his death without even then

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 23; xii. 23. Matt. xviii. 17. 2 Thess. iii. 14. Heb. xiii. 7.

regarding him as cut off, or renouncing its influence over him. In the Church, all are called; all, however sinful, are capable of salvation, and subjects of her educational action; all are intended, by taking and giving, to hold at once active and passive relations. All are to be prayed for, and to pray for others. All are to set an example to their fellow-members of the body, and to take example from them. None can sink so low that the Church need despair of him, or is not bound to stoop to him, and seek to lift him up again. While he lives, he is not given over, and the Church relies on the means of grace entrusted to her, which can fan into a bright flame the spark of life remaining, in spite of all sin, in the baptized, however near extinction.

None, then, in the Church is hopelessly lost, or predestined to damnation. Nations, like individuals, may be healed, and the Church is the great institution for healing and improvement, which despairs of no moral sickness, passes no sentence of death, pronounces none evil but only a sinner, who may always be converted while his day of grace, his earthly life, lasts. For sinners' sakes the Church was founded, as her Lord and Master came as a Physician, not for the whole, but for the sick.[1] And so, even the unworthy, who had fallen into great sins, were regarded and treated as members of the body of Christ; so long as they did not leave the Church, but remained in her, and discharged at least some functions and duties of membership, she sought to heal them, and exercised an educational influence over

[1] Wisd. i. 14. Mark ii. 17. Luke v. 31.

them, by teaching, example and warning. Even if they were so far dead or maimed members of the Lord's body, that they shut themselves out for the time from the healing influences streaming on them from the rest of the body, and from its Head, yet no one could say that those influences would always be vain and fruitless; the Church hoped and prayed for them, and the sinner of to-day might be the converted of to-morrow. Only when the danger of the sound members being infected was greater than the hope of the sick being healed, they must be cut off.

Therefore, in a series of parables, bearing on the condition of the members of His kingdom, the Church, Christ prepared His disciples for finding a great number of the unconverted and impure in it;—in the parable of the floor, with wheat and chaff; of the wheat and tares in the field, of the fishing net, the royal marriage, the wise and foolish virgins, the good Shepherd, and the vine.[1] For He foresaw that one of the greatest temptations and most seductive errors would be the wish to set up a Church composed entirely of the pure and perfect. The field of the Church is sown with wheat and tares, and the first separation will be made at the harvest, the day of judgment. In the net are good fish and bad, as the Church, God's kingdom, includes evil men and righteous. The good Shepherd sees sheep of His own among the wanderers, and follows them into the wilderness. Christ, the true Vine, has unfruitful branches, only then to be

[1] Matt. iii. 12; xiii.; xxii. 2 sqq.; xxv. 1 sqq. John x. 1 sqq. xv. 1 sqq. Luke xv. 4 sqq.

rejected and burnt when they are fallen off. Paul again says that in the great household of the Church are not only gold and silver vessels, but wooden and earthen vessels, for honour and dishonour in the using; but he will not have these last cast out of the house, but only that men should keep themselves pure and undefiled by them, so as to become holy vessels of honour to the Lord.[1] Thus in the Church there are at once manifold gradations and a close interdependence of all. All believers are a priestly generation, and each in his way is a medium and organ for imparting moral influences to others, and the most advanced are the salt and leaven for the rest.

The apostles speak most emphatically of the privileges and prerogatives of members of the Church over the rest of the world. The "Saints" at Ephesus are in a condition of grace, and enjoy higher rights; they are already blest with all spiritual blessing in heavenly things through Christ. They need a special enlightenment to understand aright their high and glorious inheritance; they are fellow-citizens of the saints and of the household of God, who were darkness, but are now light in the Lord. Yet the apostles, who described the state of the Church and its members as one of such high grace, prerogatives and glory, held it necessary to denounce gross sins and excesses in the whole community, and warn men against them constantly. Close upon the mention of the Church's privileges and gifts follows the reference to their possible and often actual misuse. Paul thanks

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 20, 21.

God for the grace bestowed on the Corinthian Christians, that through Christ they are rich in all knowledge and every gift, but then immediately follows a severe censure of their divisions and quarrels; the apostle tells them they are still carnal, and heaps a long catalogue of reproaches and accusations upon them. He knew that God's gifts to the Church are without reservation or repentance, that great faults may long exist side by side with great privileges within her domain, and he looked on those communities not only as they were in the present, but as they would be in the future.[1]

It was the glory of the Christian as compared with the Jewish Church, that shadows were transmuted to substance, symbols to means of grace, types to instruments of salvation, rituals to channels of higher powers. What before was a pious usage—an intimation, a memento, a suggestion only—was now become the medium of divine power, and an instrument of sanctification. The simplest materials and acts which subserve the needs of daily life were chosen by the Lord as vessels and instruments of divine gifts, conductors of sanctifying power,—water, bread and wine, oil, imposition of hands. To the symbolic matter and acts were added corresponding words, which, perfecting the action and concentrating the grace into a given moment, wrought what they expressed and what the act signified, so that they remained in the mind and memory of the recipient, as decisive facts, monuments of his religious life, and points for confidence to cling to.

[1] Eph. i. 3, 18. Heb. vi. 4—6; x. 26—29. 1 Cor. i. 5 sqq. Rom. xi. 29.

These means of grace were ordained for beings composed of body as well as soul, and by Him who appeared on earth as Redeemer with the bodily as well as spiritual nature of man. They were not to be mere signs, pledges, or symbols of grace, but an actual communication of it, wrought by the risen and glorified Christ on the men He would convert and sanctify, bonds to unite the body of the Church with its Head, nourishment to sustain and medicines to restore its life. By opening the eyes of the blind with earth and spittle, and bidding His disciples anoint the sick with oil, Christ had Himself announced that He would connect higher powers with sensible signs, in order to accustom men to look beyond the simple matter or sign and the human minister, to the divine Redeemer concealed under that material veil, using man as His instrument.

Jesus bade all nations be baptized in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which bound them to believe and confess the Three Divine Persons, and brought them into fellowship with the death and resurrection of Jesus, so that the old man was buried and the new man raised in them, and they experienced in themselves the power of the Lord's death and resurrection. Paul makes the idea of men being buried and rising with Christ in baptism the great point in the sacrament; by baptism man is incorporated with Christ, and puts on Christ, so that the sacramental washing does away all natural distinctions of race;—Greek and Jew, slave and free, men and women are one in Christ, members of His body, children of God and of the seed

of Abraham. His death and resurrection in baptism is made ours, and the whole life of a Christian is but an expansion of what had its ground and beginning there. Paul not only divides man into body and spirit, but distinguishes in the bodily nature the gross, visible, bulky frame, and a hidden, inner, "spiritual" body, not subject to limits of space or cognizable by the senses. This last, which shall hereafter be raised, is alone fit for and capable of organic union with the glorified body of Christ, of substantial incorporation with it; and that takes place in baptism, so that immersion in the water is immersion in Christ's body, and we there begin in principle to experience those two critical processes through which His body passed, death and resurrection; the old Adam with his sinful inclinations is buried or crucified, and the pure body of Christ overflowing with powers of healing gradually dispossesses or absorbs his, and our whole religious life is built up on this foundation.[1]

Thus Christ becomes by baptism the Father of a new family, and all individuals of it are made members of His body through the sacrament; in all is implanted the principle, power and beginning of a death to the old life of sin, and of a gradual though laborious development of the new life, together with the germ of the future bodily resurrection. To make baptism really a laver of regeneration, covenant of good conscience towards God, and means of forgiveness and sanctification, the Holy

[1] Rom. vi. 4; vii. 22. Gal. iii. 27. 1 Cor. vi. 12 sqq. Eph. v. 30, iii. 16. Col. ii. 12, 20; iii. 1.

Ghost works through the rite on man's mind and will, and moves him to conscious acceptance of the imparted gift. Hence John names Spirit, water and blood (the power of Christ's blood communicated in baptism) the three witnesses to the certainty of our salvation.[1]

The right and full communication of the Spirit promised by Christ to His followers was to be given by a separate action after baptism. When Philip the Evangelist had baptized the Samaritan converts, Peter and John went down from Jerusalem to Samaria to impart to them the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands, to give them what they had not received in baptism, but what Christ promised as a baptism of the Holy Ghost and of fire. Not only extraordinary and miraculous gifts were imparted by the laying on of hands, but powers of knowledge, faith and holiness,—power and courage to make confession, gifts of the Spirit required generally and in all ages for fulfilling the vocation and common priesthood of Christians. The gifts poured out on the little company of the first believers at Pentecost were to be imparted ordinarily to new converts by an ecclesiastical ceremony after baptism, whether or not accompanied by extraordinary gifts, which was an accident. As the miraculous signs Christ specially promised to believers afterwards ceased, without prejudice to faith or involving any inference that it was feeble or unreal, so, too, were the miraculous gifts at laying on of hands able and sure to cease, while the essential in-

[1] Tit. iii. 5. 1 Pet. iii. 21. 1 John v. 8.

ward operation of enlightenment and strengthening remained.[1]

The doctrine of laying on of hands is numbered in the Hebrews among the elementary and chief articles of the Christian religion, from which Christian life begins, and which the believer finds at his entrance on the very threshold of the Church. Those mentioned are, repentance from dead works, faith in God, baptism, laying on of hands, resurrection from the dead, and eternal judgment. The laying on of hands is the same as that spoken of in the following parallel passage as imparting the Holy Ghost. It is, therefore, a common ordinance designed for all believers, having a divine promise and meant always to endure, for else it could not belong to the first and elementary principles of Christian doctrine and life. In the same sense Paul tells the Christians he addresses they were sealed with the Holy Ghost, and had His first-fruits. He calls Him the Spirit of Promise because already promised in the Old Covenant as a Gift to be bestowed alike on sons and daughters, old and young, men servants and maid servants. "On you is this promise (of the Spirit) and on your children, and on those afar off whom God shall call," said Peter at Pentecost. The miraculous gifts which announced the presence of the Spirit were only signs and pledges of a gift afterwards recognized by faith alone, but then requiring outward manifestations to secure recognition and belief.[2]

[1] Acts i. 5. Mark xvi. 20.

[2] Eph. i, 13, 14; iv. 30. Rom. viii. 23. Joel ii. 28, 29. Acts ii. 17-39.

The other imposition of hands, whereby persons were consecrated to Ecclesiastical functions, had also the character of a means of grace. Twice in his two Epistles Paul reminds Timothy of the grace received in and through his ordination. Paul himself had laid hands on him, but the Presbytery had joined in the act, and the apostle exhorts him not to neglect the grace thus conferred, but rather to stir it up by prayer and by exercising it.[1] This laying on of hands took place "by prophecy," just as the ordination of Paul and Barnabas in Antioch was by prophetic inspiration. In the same Epistle the apostle had referred to the earlier prophecies about Timothy, charging him to fight a good fight, as being conscious of them. One or more of those gifted with prophecy had designated Timothy as called to a higher office in the Church, where his ministry would be blest, and thereupon he was dedicated to it. But the grace, or *charisma,* did not consist in the extraordinary gifts imparted by general imposition of hands to the baptized of that day; the hands of the apostle, without the Presbytery, sufficed for that. Nor did those miraculous gifts require being "revived" or "rekindled." The prophetic choice of Timothy was in this case extraordinary, but the subsequent ordination, which imparted an abiding and indwelling grace, belonged to the regular order of the Church, and was a grace of ministry, giving higher capacities and strength for the worthy and successful discharge of his office. So the seven at Jerusalem, who just before had shared the outpouring

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 14. 2 Tim. i. 6, ἀναζωπυρεῖν.

of the Spirit at Pentecost, had the apostles' hands laid on them when appointed to an ecclesiastical function.

James in his Epistle has ordered a special means of grace for the sick in the Church. A sick man was to call for the presbyters of the Church, and they were to pray over him and anoint him with oil; God would either grant recovery, or strengthen and revive him, and his sins would be forgiven. This is no gift of healing, for that was not confined to the presbyters; and for that Christ prescribed not unction, but laying on of hands.[1] Had he meant that, James would have bidden or advised the sick to send for one who possessed the gift, whether presbyter or layman. And the sure operation of such a gift would have been in direct contradiction to a fact before the apostle's eyes, viz., that a generation had then died off, according to natural laws, just as was the case before or afterwards. What was to be conveyed by this medium was, therefore, only sometimes recovery or relief, always consolation, revival of confidence and forgiveness of sins, on condition, of course, of faith and repentance; the form is unction and prayer. The anointing was not for any medicinal purpose, which could not be thought of in most internal diseases, though the frequent anointing of the sick among the Jews suggested this Christian unction as a means of grace, as Jewish baptism and the Jewish

[1] James v. 14, 15. Once σώσει, then ἐγερεῖ αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος. Mark xvi. 18. [The *subordinate* function of the Sacrament, for bodily healing, is recognised in the rubrics and prayers of the Roman Ritual, and in the Tridentine Catechism.—Tr.]

Passover formed the ground-work for Christian baptism and the Eucharist.

The apostolic conception of the Eucharist is laid down in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, and in that to the Hebrews. Paul wished to make the Corinthians understand that taking part in Gentile sacrificial feasts, and eating meat offered in sacrifice, was by no means an indifferent thing. It was the aim and effect of sacrificial feasts to enter into real fellowship with the deity who received the sacrifice, to become a feaster with him. And although, says the apostle, the gods of the Gentiles are dead idols, it is the demons who appropriate the sacrifices offered to them, and with whom the guests at these banquets come into fellowship. There are those, too, among the Jews who eat of the sacrifice, —partakers of the altar, who are thus brought into communion with God by the altar, and by virtue of the Covenant. But the Christian has his own sacrificial feast, where the bread is the communion of the body of Christ, and the chalice the communion of His blood; and so by at once eating the flesh of Gentile sacrifices, and partaking the bread and chalice of the Eucharist, he would enter, on the one hand, into communion with demons; on the other, into the communion of the body and blood of Christ, which were an abomination. This fellowship with demons would also be an offence against the unity of the body of Christ, an attempt to rend it, for precisely because we all eat of the one Eucharistic bread, and so receive the Lord's body, do we all become one body, or as Paul

says elsewhere, we become members of His body, of His flesh and His bones.[1] We are nourished by communion with the substance of His flesh and blood, and so bound to the unity of His body—the Church; and thus what was begun in baptism is continued and perfected in the Eucharist. The office of the Second Adam to heal the corruption of the First must be discharged towards mens' bodies also. The glorified flesh of Christ, with its purifying powers and blessings, is to be inwardly received by Christians, and to counterwork the flesh derived from Adam—the seat of sin and impure desires.

The abuses that had crept in at Corinth into the observance of the *agape*, which was connected with the Eucharist, led the apostle to speak again more particularly in the same Epistle of the institution and meaning of that sacrament.[2] He says, that the Lord's death is proclaimed by its celebration. As the celebration of the Paschal sacrifice was a continual setting forth of the deliverance from Egypt, and of the covenant between God and Israel then made, so is the Eucharistic sacrifice the continual setting forth of the death of Christ in its eternal efficacy and abiding presence. Whoever eats the body of the Lord unworthily—by stupidly and thanklessly confounding it with common food, approaching it without that penitent and believing disposition, which alone befits an observance of the Redeemer's death,—sins against the body and blood of the Lord, and draws on himself a judgment for sacrilege, for the

[1] 1 Cor. x. 16 sqq. Eph. v. 30.
[2] 1 Cor. xi. 23—30.

Lord's body has power to bless and to punish; and at Corinth sicknesses and even death followed from an unworthy partaking of it. Among Old Testament sacrifices Paul brings forward the Paschal Lamb as most like the offering of Christ, being the only Jewish memorial sacrifice. Christ, he says, is slain as our Passover; and, indeed, the Lord died as the true Paschal Lamb at the exact hour of the legal Passover.[1] In His desire to eat the Passover with His disciples, yet once more, He held the feast with them in a private house, not a consecrated place, without the victim being slain in the sanctuary, and several hours before the legal time, on Thursday evening. Here was already a separation from the communion of the observers of the law, which was all the more natural, as immediately after eating the Passover He ordained with bread and wine His own New Testament and Paschal sacrifice, whereby He substituted fulfilment for type, substance for shadow, and gave the flesh and blood of the Divine Lamb in a form that could be eaten.

The Old Covenant, with the Paschal sacrifice, pledged to Israel immunity from the Plagues of Egypt, deliverance from bondage, and entrance into the promised land; the New Covenant, with its new sacrifice, abrogating and replacing the whole temple service, pledged and secured redemption from sin and its consequences, and the sacrifice bestowed on the believer all which the various Mosaic sacrifices, sin-offerings, burnt-offerings, peace-offerings and thank-offerings typified. Thus was the prophecy of Malachi fulfilled; this was the pure obla-

[1] Luke xxii. 15.

tion, the *Mincha* which was to be offered to the Name of the Lord everywhere, from the rising to the setting sun. And that other prophecy was also fulfilled, that God would receive no more offerings from the hands of the Levitical priesthood, that He would create a purer and better priesthood, a new priestly race, succeeding by spiritual, not bodily descent, and would purify the sons of Levi, as gold and silver, to offer an offering to Him in righteousness—a prophecy and promise immediately connected with that of John the Baptist being sent, and of the Lord coming to His temple.[1]

The Lord Himself, in the Sermon on the Mount, which comprehended the moral substance of His teaching for all time, had brought out in His precept about reconciliation with enemies the permanent existence of an altar, and therefore a sacrifice, in His Church. "If thou bringest thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, go and first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."[2] He did not mean to give the Jews a new command, not found in the Mosaic law, for the few years their sacrifices were to continue; but to impart by anticipation an unchangeable law and instruction to His Church, on the necessary and indissoluble connexion between Christian brotherly love and the Eucharistic sacrifice, as celebrating the brightest act of divine love. At the moment when the Christian is commemorating the love and mercy of God, he should above all display those qualities towards others.

[1] Mal. i. 11; iii. 1—4. [2] Matt. v. 23, 24.

When the apostles treat of the sacrifice of Christ, their point of departure is, that He began on His entrance into the world to offer His Person for the salvation of men, that He continued and recapitulated the offering in the institution of the Eucharist and in His Passion on the following day, and consummated it in His resurrection and glorification. The leading idea of the Epistle to the Hebrews is that Christ continues His priestly office in the heavenly sanctuary, in His state of eternal glory. He has died once, and can die no more, but His self-oblation is no passing event, but abiding and imperishable. His priesthood and sacrifice endure as long as His Incarnation. "He is a Priest for ever," and therefore brings a continual offering; He has entered the heavenly sanctuary with His own blood, and stands evermore before God as our High Priest and Sacrifice; but the sacrifice He offers is still the same which has reconciled all, and "perfected for ever them that are being sanctified."[1] In Him sacrifice and redemption meet, for by His offering He has wrought redemption for the whole human race, from the beginning to the last man who shall be born on earth. But the work is not yet finished in individuals; their redemption and sanctification is an advancing process and living continuation in the Church of the act done on the Cross, for all Christ does for men is by virtue of His sacrifice, whose fruits He applies separately to each believer.

Christ died on the Cross as the Great Sin-offering to restore the broken communion between man and God. In that supreme act of self-denying love, the surrender

[1] Heb. vii. 3; ix. 12; x. 14.

of His Person and life, He showed the world the true meaning of sacrifice, the nature and end of all sacrificial worship. All Heathen and Jewish sacrifices were thereby abrogated; the offering of all alien and remote material borrowed from the animal kingdom, which is given over to man for use, was set aside. Man could not but bring such offerings before, as shadows, substitutes and types of the one true and availing sacrifice; while the partition wall of sin still stood between him and God, and the divine Mediator, whose Person was the true oblation, had not yet appeared. But thenceforth, when God had bestowed His highest and noblest Gift, there could be but one offering, which enabled, nay obliged, men to give all to God without division, mingling reserve or limit of devotion, for the measure of their obligations is the measure of His gifts.

As heaven and earth are one kingdom of God, the heavenly and earthly Church are one coherent, indivisible whole. The earthly Church is the ante-chamber of the heavenly, and the heavenly stretches into it; prayer and its answer, sacrifice and its acceptance, ascend and descend, the earthly corn-fields ripen for the harvest of the Church above. Christ is the High Priest of both portions of the One Church. He has entered, as it is said, into the heavenly sanctuary, with His own blood, as the Mediator of good things to come, the High Priest of an everlasting order; and there John saw Him in the midst of the throne, as the Lamb that had been slain, and bore the marks of His death.[1]

[1] Heb. ix. 11, 24; vii. 24. Apoc. v. 6.

"We have an altar, of which they that serve the tabernacle have no right to eat." This is said, to make the Hebrew converts understand the perversity and uselessness of trusting to the Levitical sacrifices, and the wide difference and great superiority of the Christian priesthood and sacrifice. The Jews are forbidden by their law to taste of the sin-offering brought on the day of atonement; but we Christians have a new sacrifice, and a feast attached to it. Thus altar is compared with altar, sacrifice with sacrifice, the Christian communion attached to the new sin-offering with its absence among the Jews.[1]

The prerogatives of the priesthood and offering of Christ are contrasted by the writer with the defective-

[1] Heb. xiii. 10. The altar to be eaten from is explained by Commentators outside the Church, even the most recent (Bleek, de Wette, Lüneman, Delitzch) of the Cross, while Tholuck in despair thinks nothing in particular is meant. If it is incredible in itself that the writer should have obtruded on the Hebrews this notion of eating from the Cross, which could only be realised through several intermediate links, without any explanation; we may add, that all through the Epistle, and where the sacrifice of Christ is expressly discussed, the Cross is not once named, nor is it anywhere in the New Testament called an altar, though holding such a position in the eye of faith. How, then, could the reader here have understood the long buried Cross by "we have an altar to be eaten from?" (*i.e.*, what is both altar and table of sacrificial feast). It is precisely the close connection of the Eucharistic action with the heavenly oblation and its dependence on it that is here insisted upon, as throughout the Epistle the reader's eye is directed, not to the Cross, but to the heavenly sanctuary, as the place of priestly ministration. Why could not the servants of the Jewish tabernacle eat of the Christian altar? Because the thing there eaten is the Sacrifice of Christ; and He is the Minister of the true tabernacle, not built by mens' hands, but by God. (Heb. viii. 2). It is altar against altar, tabernacle against tabernacle, one sacrificial feast against another.

ness of the Levitical and Aaronic priesthood. While the Jewish High Priest presents an offering vain and perishable in its own nature, the blood of animals, which cannot really cleanse mens' souls or be pleasing to God, an offering which needs constant repetition, Christ has offered a higher and more availing sacrifice, and administers a nobler priesthood. He offers blood, which is intimately allied to our own, and therefore pleads for us before God with power, for it is His own blood, that of the new, everlasting Covenant. With that He has entered into heaven, the true sanctuary, the house of God, which He has built and rules. Thenceforth His priestly function is discharged in heaven, and is therefore exalted above the priesthood and sacrifices of the law, with their earthly and typical sanctuary. His blood has a real power to cleanse and sanctify, and the offering of His death and passion could be made but once, for in its eternal and all-sufficient perfection it cleanses all. All sins are taken away by one offering, which in its power and inexhaustible efficacy can bring all to perfection and beatitude, which has opened to us a new way of access to God, and imparts to us the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the blessedness of the world to come, and the inheritance of heaven.[1]

The Levitical priesthood, therefore, is not abolished, but only changed and committed to other hands. Christ, the Lamb, offers Himself continually on that heavenly altar; He is the Priest for evermore, who has wrought the

[1] See Heb. *passim*.

reconciliation of the human race, and the Victim who applies to us in the fulness of His gifts the fruit of the reconciliation He has won. And here the Church on earth was not to be poorer than the Church in heaven. Therefore on the eve of His Passion He ordained in His Church the offering of His Body and Blood, whereof He would here as there be Himself the Priest, only that here both priesthood and sacrifice, in accordance with the present order and economy of faith, are veiled from the eyes of men, His body concealed under the form of earthly nourishment, His priestly act under the ministry of men called by the Church to represent Him.

As the Church was founded by the Incarnation of the Word, and His dwelling among men, so is her continuance, her constant blossoming and increase on earth, dependent on the abiding Presence of His living Body in her midst, hidden, indeed, but indicated and pledged by sensible signs. But where He is present, there He is and must be continually offering, and discharging by that oblation His office as our Intercessor; so that on the earthly altar of the Church is the same presence and the same performance as in the heavenly sanctuary, here concealed on the altar from the believer's gaze, there unveiled. For since the Incarnation unites the Son for ever indivisibly to man's nature, His sacrifice is also everlasting. God and Man for ever, with a true though glorified body, which has suffered and died, He is Victim and Priest for ever, High Priest and Minister of the sanctuary, sitting on the right

hand of the throne of Majesty.[1] In this unbroken celebration His death once suffered, over whom death hath no more power, is but a single moment, a moment that lives in the commemoration of the past, but ever energizing, fact; and thus the sacrificial rite of the earthly Church represents and typifies that act of love of which it is the appointed memorial.

Christ has become Man, that He may gradually draw mankind to Himself in His exalted and glorified state. His words, "I in My Father, and ye in Me, and I in you," He explained by ordaining His sacrifice, and Paul, by saying He has made the Church His body and Himself its Head.[2] All types of the Old Covenant were to be abundantly fulfilled in Him, in the perfect satisfaction of all our wants, and in a manner transcending all our hopes. If the Jewish sacrificial feasts expressed the need and desire for drawing nigh to God, and holding communion with Him, the Eucharist is the means for realising the closest fellowship and union possible for men on earth, and has also enabled us to present continually to God the sole worthy oblation. As, then, the flesh of the Jewish peace-offering had first to be prepared by fire for eating, so has His flesh and blood been made capable of being received under the form of bread and wine; and He has thereby given us the noblest and most powerful thing we could receive, that by tasting and partaking of His mind we may be united with Him, and offer the One great Sacrifice alone acceptable to God. God will not receive Christ from

[1] Heb vii. 24; viii. 1, 2; xii. 2. [2] John xii. 32; xiv. 20.

us without ourselves, nor ourselves without Christ. Only that oblation where the self-sacrifice of Christ and His members is united is pleasing to God, and befits the disciples of the Crucified.

The Eucharistic offering of the Church is a recapitulation and summary of the whole Christian religion. As our Brother and our Head, our Redeemer and High Priest, our Food and our Victim, Christ is here present and energizes in us and for us. "He that eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him." The apostle describes all individual Christians and Christian communities of the world as one bread and one body,[1] for the Eucharistic bread, under which the Lord's body is veiled, makes the many into one body; and thus the Church as the body of the Lord, fed with His substance and joined with Him, is offered to God together with His natural body, and the Eucharistic sacrifice is the product of this unity of the Head and members, and the means through communion of upholding, nourishing and strengthening it.

Thus the offering of Christ in the Church is both peace-offering and thank-offering; it contains all which was wanting to the oblation of the Cross. As in the Old Covenant the peace-offering was not only allowed but commanded to be eaten of, so now is communion added as a sign of peace and reconciliation wrought, as the consummation and seal of the sacrifice. The event on Calvary was hidden from the comprehension of men; the offering was dishonoured, without partakers, without

[1] John vi. 56. 1 Cor. x. 17.

public testimony to its dignity and power. But in the Church it is the object of unceasing veneration, the centre of her worship and her solemnities. It is as well a sin-offering as an offering of memorial and thanksgiving, for He who wrought the great reconciliation is present here in His quality as Sin-offering, and the memorial of His accomplished atonement, celebrated by those who need constantly fresh forgiveness, is necessarily a constant renewal of the reconciliation. In offering Christ to the Father as her sin-offering, the Church is but imploring Him in the most effectual way to grant to believers pardon and power over sin, by cleansing and strengthening their will directed to Christ and joined with His, through Him our Mediator and Intercessor, and in virtue of His atoning death once suffered on the Cross.

In so far as the general reconciliation has once for all been accomplished, mankind restored to its true relations with God, and the way of access to Him again laid open, in this sense all was accomplished by the sacrifice on Calvary, and the sacrifice of the Church can claim no similar end or significance, for it neither is or can be a supplement or repetition of the offering on the Cross. But in all that concerns the individualizing, applying, and imparting the blessings and gifts of God there won, and inasmuch as constant forgiveness is not the least of those gifts, so far the Church's sacrificial celebration has the meaning and power of an atoning sacrifice.

The author of the Hebrews repeatedly asserts, that

Christ has offered Himself but once, and needs not to offer Himself often. In fact His sacrifice can neither be supplemented by another—for it would then appear inadequate—nor be repeated, for it would then lose its unity and sink to the level of the sacrifices of the Mosaic law. But Jesus has an eternal priesthood, not as a mere titular dignity with no corresponding function, but as being engaged in an abiding act of sacrifice; and the Church's offering is a solemn participation in that abiding act, the earthly reproduction and representation of the sacrifice proceeding in "the tabernacle not made with hands." It is a single service here and there, a service in which living Christians take part in the worship of the Blessed.[1] Here and there, as once on Calvary, is the same Priest, the same Victim, the same one immolation; there was the Cross, an altar in the eyes of the denizens of heaven, here is the altar, one with the Cross in the eyes of earthly believers, and He is present on it in that quality of a hidden Victim, now inseparable from His Body. How, indeed, could the celebration of that sacrificial death, wherein He who died and is now glorified is Himself present, be anything else but a sacrifice in which the Lord's body is held up before the Father in heaven, as an offering of atonement and thanksgiving, under the symbols of His Passion and outpoured blood, given and received in communion as a token of peace and reconciliation? To celebrate without sacrifice the sacrifice of His death, one must violently

[1] Heb. ix. 24—28; vi. 20; viii. 4.

exclude His humanity, believed to be there present, from its essential relation to God. To the true believer it is simply impossible not to offer Christ, whom he knows to be bodily present on the altar, to God, or not to unite himself in very deed with the act of intercession even now proceeding in the Church above, to be content with a mere retrospective glance at the sacrifice accomplished more than a thousand years ago.

Thus the Christian sacrifice is at once permanent and single; its unity does not contradict its duration, nor its duration prevent its being ever one and indivisible. The offering of that sacrifice is, indeed, divided into numberless acts, according to the division of time and space in our earthly life, but they are brought into unity and held together through the Person of Christ, with whom and in whom His ministers do all their acts. It is precisely in this multiplicity of the oblation, by which the One ever-living Victim is offered and the sacrifice of the Cross constantly applied anew in its effects to the whole body and its individual members, that the perfection and indissoluble power of that sacrifice reveals itself. To the Christian's retrospective glance the multitude of sacrificial acts on the altars of the Church at once take their place as dependent on that one heavenly offering, which again depends on that of the Cross, as one single celebration of sacrifice. "For Jesus is entered into heaven itself, now to appear for us before the presence of God."[1] No new immolation

[1] Heb. ix. 24.

takes place; only that once made on Calvary is exhibited to the Christian people in a symbolic act, sensibly representing the separation of body and blood in death. The Cross has grown into a living Tree, ever green and ever fruitful, under whose shadow the Church of all times and all places finds rest.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LAST THINGS, AND THE FUTURE OF THE WORLD AND THE CHURCH.

SINCE the time when the seed of death entered with sin into man's nature, and the body of every one, however spiritually minded, became dead or mortal on account of sin, the universal law of death has shown itself a benefit, though it be the wages and the penalty of sin. To die is to lay aside a heavy garment, to leave a fragile shell, the going forth of the soul from the earthly house it dwelt in. For death, as man's enemy, is overcome; Christ has destroyed its power, and made it but a passage from life to life, an entrance for His own on the inheritance prepared for them. They, if they have alike, in life and in death, preserved their fellowship with His death, and have willingly accepted death in whatever form it comes upon them, are set free from strife with the world and earthly sufferings, they rest from their labours, and are ripening for perfection through the renovation of the whole man, and his intimate union with his Lord.

"It is appointed for men once to die, but, after that, judgment." Human life, then, cannot be repeated, as in the Pythagorean scheme, in another body. The course is finished with death, and man's lot determined according to his relations with Christ.[1]

The happiness to which Christ introduces His own is described as an exceeding great glory, yet suited to the nature and deepest needs of man. It is eternal life, therefore energy. In the Apocalypse, the Blessed in heaven are before God's throne, and serve him without interruption; they feel neither hunger, thirst, nor heat; the Lamb feeds them, guides them, and dries their tears. Gathered from all times and all nations, they form one heavenly choir united to God and the Son of Man, and serve Him day and night in their priestly ministry of praise and adoration. They share the glory and even the dominion of Christ, and rejoice in a knowledge that is ever growing. "We shall be like God, for we shall see Him as He is;" in the bold language of Paul, "we shall know as we are known"—by God; but this must be taken with a limitation, for even in that kingdom the knowledge of the Blessed cannot bridge over the infinite chasm which divides the creature from the Creator.[2]

The apostle points to the antithesis between the knowledge of the Blessed, and the piecemeal, fragmentary, limited range of man's knowledge here. As yet we see

[1] Rom. viii. 10. 2 Cor. v. 1—4. 2 Tim. i. 10. Matt. x. 38, 39. Apoc. vii. 15, 16; xiv. 13. Heb. ix. 27.

[2] 2 Cor. iv. 17. John vi. 35; xvii. 24. Apoc. vii. 15—17. Rom. v. 17—21. 2 Tim. ii. 11 sqq. 1 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 John iii. 2.

the highest things as it were in a dark mirror; here only mystical symbols are shown us, there our knowledge will be an intuition, commensurate in kind, though not in degree, with the divine knowledge, a seeing face to face. The Blessed will there be like the Angels also in their manner of perception, and when our Lord tells us that there is joy in heaven over one converted sinner, this indicates an acquaintance with what passes on earth among the inhabitants of heaven. And as the gift of prophecy in the apostolic age often included a knowledge of the spiritual state of individuals, that is true in a higher degree of the Blessed, for here, says Paul, "we know and prophesy in part," but there, where evils are removed, and we see all in the light of God, "what is partial shall be done away." In the Revelation of John, the souls of the Martyrs under the heavenly altar know the condition of the Church on earth, they pray that their blood may be avenged and the sufferings of the Church be ended; and it is said to them, that the time is not yet come, that the number of their brethren must first be fulfilled.[1]

The first condition of seeing God is perfect purity, and thereby likeness to God. "We know," says John, "that when Christ appeareth, we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." And, from the promise of seeing God, he infers a purity which can really be called a likeness to God. "Every man who hath this hope purifieth himself, as He is pure." And as in this life the

[1] 1 Cor. xiii. 10—13; xiv. 25. Matt. xxii. 30. Luke xv. 7. Apoc. vi. 10, 11; xiv. 4.

measure of our sanctification and purity is the measure of our likeness to God, the sight of Him in Paradise, "as He is," requires perfect purity, for "there is no fellowship between light and darkness," nothing of human impurity shall enter His kingdom, and "without holiness no man shall see the Lord." Therefore, neither secret nor open, habitual or actual evil may cleave to the soul; so long as it retains any moral defect, any vestige of sin and its consequences, it cannot really attain to the beatific vision of God, and, if the cleansing process is not completed in this life, it must be carried on in the interval between death and resurrection. God disciplines us that we may partake of His holiness, and "whom He loveth He chastiseth," so long as the soul requires this means of purification.[1] These purifying chastisements are expressly declared to be signs of His favour, but since the roots of evil implanted by separate sins in the soul must be rooted out, they cannot in our human state be other than painful. This is implied in the very condition of the soul, when unclothed by death of its bodily integument, for, as its powers of sensation were partly deadened and laid to sleep under the weight of an earthly and material body, they are greatly excited and intensified when those bands are relaxed. Even that inalienable self-knowledge which yet is so little realised in this life, but to which the soul will gradually wake in the next—the knowing ourselves as God knows us, the soul's mere perception and consciousness of its indwelling evil and impurity, and its defective goodness,

[1] 1 John iii. 2, 3. 2 Cor. vi. 14. Apoc. xxi. 27. Heb. xii. 6, 10, 14.

will in that state of elevated sensibility be a painful but purifying suffering.

The apostle says, that at the name of Jesus, not only all in heaven and on earth, but also those under the earth, the dead in Hades, shall bend their knees in adoration. They will thankfully worship Him as their Redeemer, for only by virtue of His blood poured out for men is their cleansing in that state fulfilled; it is the blood of Christ which cleanses us from all sin. Paul therefore speaks of the work the Lord has begun in believers being carried on, not only till death, but after death, till "the day of Christ"—that is, the last great and decisive judgment—thus implying a salutary process in the interval, which can only be a continuation of cleansing. And Christ Himself, with unmistakable reference to that interval after death, spoke of a prison whence men should not be released till they had paid their whole debt, to the uttermost farthing. He said, that the sin against the Holy Ghost should be forgiven neither in this life nor in that; there is, then, a forgiveness in the other life, and multitudes enter it in a condition that needs forgiveness; for complete remission, or removal of all consequences of sin, involves its entire ejection from the soul, and a complete purification.[1]

This condition of man is locally designated Hades, a word corresponding in the apostolic writings to the Old Testament *Scheol,* and expressing generally the place and condition of men before the resurrection and universal judgment. In the Apocalypse, death and Hades

[1] Phil. ii. 10; i. 6. 1 John i. 7. Matt. xviii. 34; v. 20; xii. 32.

are always distinguished; Christ has power over both; the sea, death and Hades give up the dead that are in them at the last judgment, and finally death and Hades are cast into the lake of fire, which means that, when death is destroyed, the kingdom of the dead shall have an end, partly swallowed up in heaven, partly in hell. In this Hades or intermediate state there was what Peter calls a preaching of the Gospel to the dead of earlier generations there reserved. During the three days' interval between His death and resurrection Christ went there, while His body lay in the grave, and preached to those, who of old disbelieved and perished in the Flood, the glad tidings of redemption. But he says, again, quite generally, that the Gospel was preached to the dead, "that they may be judged according to men in the flesh," (having incurred bodily death as a common punishment) "but may live according to God in the Spirit." The victims of the Flood, therefore, are only quoted as an example. With this agrees the statement of the Hebrews that the believers of the Old Covenant shall not be perfected without those of the New, inasmuch as Christ's atoning death, and His appearance for which they waited, is the decisive moment of their being made perfect.[1]

Christ said, "In My Father's house are many mansions." That points to the great variety in those regions, the separate divisions in the heavenly house according to the moral state and development of those received into it.

[1] Acts ii. 27. 1 Cor. xv. 55. Apoc. i. 18; ii. 27; vi. 8; xx. 13, 14; 1 Pet. iii. 19; iv. 6. Heb. xi. 40.

Under figures borrowed from earthly things there is distinguished in the "heavenly Jerusalem," the City of the Living God, a most holy place where is the throne of God, or full revelation of the Trinity and manifestation of Divine glory, and a holy place, or heaven, where the Angels and Saints dwell. But elsewhere, when the state and dwelling of the Blessed is spoken of, especially with Paul, local ideas fall into the background. He rather makes heaven a different manner of existence suited to spiritual bodies than a different place, the condition of being in God's presence. Heaven and earth, in the theological sense of the terms, are not so removed from each other that heaven is to be looked for somewhere in universal space, but rather do heavenly powers surround and penetrate the earthly domain, and Christ, even when on earth, could be living in heaven.[1]

As the Church is both visible and invisible, having a home in two worlds, and as Christ her Head is in both of them, so are the members of both united together. Their union is not dissolved because some have already entered that glorious and spotless Church, the inner Temple of which this is the outer Court. Paul says that all members of Christ's body should care for one another, that if one suffers all should suffer with it, and if one is glorified all rejoice with it. There is a real communion of living and departed Christians through Christ, to whose body both alike belong, nor can we doubt that the Blessed who see God, as being members of Christ's

[1] John xiv. 2; iii. 13. Heb. xii. 22; viii. 5 sqq. Apoc. xi. 19; xiv. 17; xv. 5; iv. 5. Eph. i. 3; ii. 6. 2 Cor. v. 1, 6, 8.

body, share His knowledge of the militant Church on earth so far as He is pleased to impart it to them. They accordingly take part by their prayers in His great work and the accomplishment of His judgments on earth. The Apostles and Prophets in heaven rejoice over the fall of Babylon. Christ declared the conversion of one single sinner to be a feast of joy in heaven, and the four and twenty Elders are said to present the prayers of the Saints in golden vials before God. If love is the highest of earthly powers, and survives when faith and hope are extinguished, and the Saints are like minded with Christ towards their earthly brethren, it cannot but be that by interceding for us they should conform to the pattern of their Head, our great High Priest and Intercessor.[1]

Meanwhile the brotherly love of the living, which, reaches beyond the grave, must take the form of intercession for the departed. Paul himself gives an example of such a prayer. The Ephesian Onesiphorus, mentioned in his second Epistle to Timothy, was clearly no longer among the living. Paul praises this man for his constant service to him but does not, as elsewhere, send salutations to him, but only to his family; for him he desires a blessing from the Lord, and prays for him that the Lord will grant he may find mercy with Christ at the day of judgment.[2]

Between death and the resurrection the soul is in a

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 25, 26; xiii. 8 sqq. Apoc. vi. 10, 11; xviii. 20. xix. 1—4; v. 8. Luke xv. 7.

[2] 2 Tim. i. 16—18; iv. 19.

disembodied or naked state, as compared with its present existence, whereof the apostle feels a horror, though he elsewhere speaks of the believer longing for redemption from this "body of death," in which the law of sin rules, and which is so often felt as a weight pressing down the spirit. But "we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens," and we long, instead of the unclothing of our soul by death, to partake of that overclothing where the mortal is swallowed up by life.[1] But that will only be their lot who live to see the Second Coming of Christ, who will then suddenly have their bodies changed, and be clothed upon, as it were, or transfigured; they will put on their new and heavenly dress, without the former being destroyed by death, which implies their having then a corresponding place to dwell in. But that nakedness of the soul, when separated by death from its earthly body, is not to be conceived of as a purely spiritual existence without any corporal substratum or organ. The two-fold personality wherein man is created, the continuity of his consciousness, and the bodily or organic power which substantially inhabits the soul, all this necessarily leads to the notion that the soul, though it has no body of its own, has some covering in place of one; that it does not lack that bodily organ, without which no receptivity of influences, or manifestation, or energy can be conceived, even in the intermediate state before the resurrection. And from this organ as its germ the new

[1] Rom. vii. 24. 2 Cor. v. 1—4.

and immortal body will be developed at the resurrection. For Paul uses, to illustrate the doctrine of the resurrection, the figure of a seed-corn, putrifying in the earth and thereby ripening to living fruit, where there is the same continuity as in man's body.[1] While, then, we must believe that the soul remains in continual relation with its body which is undergoing constant change and is nourished and interpenetrated by Christ's body, and that this relation supplies a continual bodily power, yet, in the middle state before the resurrection, the psychical side of existence predominates, and thus in the Apocalypse only the *souls* of the risen are spoken of.

Very different from Hades is Gehenna, the "fiery furnace" or "bottomless pit," the proper Hell, or place of the reprobate. The word signified, first, that valley of Hinnom or Tophet, desecrated by the abominations of idolatry, and therefore purposely defiled by Josiah, where Israel had offered children to Moloch, and where afterwards malefactors' corpses were burnt, and a fire constantly smouldering in the place consumed the filth and abominations of all kinds cast into it. At the time of Jesus it had become the popular expression for the place of punishment of the condemned; and He said of the dwellers in Gehenna, in words borrowed from Isaiah, that their worm dieth not, and their fire is not quenched. Here and elsewhere the lot of the condemned is symbolically described as a being cast into the outer darkness, as a second and eternal death, an ever-dying life: Paul calls it destruction from the presence of the Lord, and

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 3 sqq.

ever-abiding corruption.[1] These and other intimations show the condition of those who are irreclaimable, and therefore shut out from the Blessed, to be an abiding consciousness of having missed the end of life, a loss of all the heart before clung to; it is an absolute powerlessness and want of all energy, because the powers of life are withdrawn, and the will is now empty and unfruitful, and only fixed on evil; the constant burning of unsatisfied passions, and the gnawing pain of a conscience which cannot again be laid to sleep. The outward sphere of this internal misery is Gehenna, and even material nature, in the dregs and stagnant pool left as the precipitate of the process of regeneration, supplies its place and substance.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the dead was a distinguishing and fundamental doctrine of the apostles, and to acknowledge it was a mark of a disciple of Jesus. Paul concludes, that if there was no resurrection Christ could not be raised, and then the preaching of the apostles and their faith were vain; they would be false witnesses. Christ is thus the Pledge of our future renovation, His resurrection the assurance and the seal of ours, for He rose as the Head of His body—the Church. He is but the First-fruits of them that sleep; as He had power to take up again His bodily life, so, too, can He bestow glorified bodies on us; and He has actually

[1] Matt. xiii. 50; viii. 12; xxii. 13. Luke viii. 31. Apoc. ix. 1; xxi. 8. 4 (E.V. 2) Kings xxiii. 10. Isa. lxvi. 24. Jer. vii. 31; xix. 6; xxxii. 35. Mark ix. 43, 44. 2 Thess. i. 9. Cf. Gal. vi. 8. 2 Pet. iii. 7. Jude 7.

shown by His deeds—by raising some dead persons, by calling out Lazarus, when already given over to corruption, from the grave—that He has both the will and power, as Conqueror of death, to break its dominion over man, and force it to give up its prey. And, since it is sin which wrought bodily death, the final annihilation of death and restitution of our decomposed bodies belongs to the integrity of His redeeming work. Thence He is called the First-begotten from the dead, who shall be followed by many brethren.[1]

By Christ's resurrection we are certainly assured that we, too, shall rise in like manner with a spiritual body like His,—strong, glorious, incorruptible. For, as in our earthly body, subject to corruption, dishonour, and shame, we are like the first Adam and united to him; so shall we be in our glorified body like the Second Adam, and shall bear His image. There is only this difference,—that Christ did not first lay aside the veil of His physical body or need to sow the corruptible, but changed His mortal for a glorified body immediately. Flesh and blood, says the apostle, cannot inherit the kingdom of God, nor the corruptible attain to incorruption. The body formed of gross and animal matter is perishable and destined to pass away, and in the future spiritual body shall be no "flesh and blood."[2]

It follows that we are to look not for a mere reanimation of the body, to be wrought by Divine Omni-

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 13, 14, 20 sqq.; vi. 14. Eph. i. 22; ii. 5. Phil. iii. 10. 1 Thess. iv. 14. Col. i. 18. Heb. ii. 14; Apoc. i. 5.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 43—50.

potence, but a changing of it which will overcome death and corruption fully and for ever. Paul contrasts with the decay and feebleness of our present body, this "earthly tabernacle," the prerogatives of the "heavenly house, not made with hands," which we shall then inhabit. The renewed body will have a richer measure of unshackled living energies, will be a spiritual body, as compared to our present body composed of gross matter and pertaining to the earthly order, free from pain and suffering and from all destructive influences, and without distinctions of sex; its corporal material will be refined and transfigured, through communication of heavenly glory, to a body of light, such as is fit for the conditions and destiny of life in a higher order of the world and a glorified sphere, and capable of rapidly penetrating solid matter. The apostle had before his eyes the risen body of his Lord, such as it had appeared to him, whence he says, that Christ, according to His power of subjecting all things to Himself, will change our corruptible bodies to the likeness of His own glorious body. The unrighteous, who will equally rise to judgment, will of course be clothed with a totally different, nay opposite, kind of body.[1]

The Lord will return to take unto Himself His own, who, through faith and love, are united to Him, and raised by His power to the full integrity of human nature, and to hold the judgment of the world. For the Redeemer is also the Judge of mankind. As He came the first time into the world for judgment, to

[1] Matt. xxii. 30. John xx. 19; v. 29. Phil. iii. 21. Acts xxiv. 15.

separate the incurably evil and the dead from the great fellowship of life, and to overthrow the previous ruler of the world, so will He appear the last time, not veiled, indeed, in form of a servant, but in the majesty of His glory, and with His appearance the present epoch of the world will close. "The Father judgeth no man, but hath given all judgment to the Son," because He is the Son of Man, for only as such could He be our Redeemer, and as being made like to us in all things, sin only excepted, with human feelings and human thoughts, He is our rightful Judge. His judgment will in two senses be universal,—first, as extending over the whole human race, nations and individuals, men of all climes and all ages,—secondly, as embracing the whole course of each one's life, his acts and omissions, thoughts and intentions, specially the latter, for it is the motive which gives to human acts their worth or their unworthiness. Concerning retribution, it is intimated that punishments will be unequal, that each will be judged according to his power and his knowledge, so far as his want of them was not wilful, and that from him who has received little will little be required.[1]

Paul everywhere refers to a great reconciliation of the universe at the final appearance of the Lord, when, death being overcome, and creation regenerated, God shall no more be as a Stranger or an Enemy in this world, but be All in all. He speaks of all being made alive in Christ, all things comprehended under one

[1] John xii. 31; v. 22, 27. 2 Cor. v. 10. Rom. ii. 16. 1 Cor. iv. 5. Matt. x. 40 sqq.; vii. 21—23; xxv. 14 sqq. Luke xii. 47, 48.

Head; and John says, that Christ is a Propitiation for the whole world. But this does not point to any universal restitution (ἀποκατάστασις);[1] but only, on the one hand, to the universality of redemption, from which they alone are excluded who exclude themselves; on the other hand, to the harmony and perfection of God's kingdom. And when it is said in the Revelation, "there shall be no more curse,"—nothing which the curse of God rests upon—this only means that all evil shall be excluded from the company of the Saints in the heavenly Jerusalem, and the punitive justice of God have no object there. For the utterances of the Lord are clear enough about the eternal fire prepared for Satan and his angels, the worm that dieth not, and the sin that shall not be forgiven in this world or the next, as well as what John says about the sin unto death, which may not be prayed for.[2]

In the Revelation of John, God predicts of the perfection of the latter days, "Behold, I make all things new." The whole visible world, or heaven and earth, shall be consumed and purified by fire. As unconscious nature sympathised with the fall of man, and through his sin, who was her keeper and preserver, was made subject unwillingly to "vanity" and "the bondage of corruption," and became a "groaning creature," so shall she undergo a process of cleansing

[1] [The author refers to Origen's theory of the final restitution of all things.—Tr.]

[2] Col. i. 20. 1 Cor. xv. 22—28. Eph. i. 22. Phil. ii. 10. Apoc. xxii. 3. 1 John ii. 2; v. 16.

through the element of fire, and partaking in the glorification of men shall be renewed and exalted to a higher state.[1] The heavenly and earthly Church shall melt into one, the earthly become heavenly and the heavenly earthly. The outward and the inward, the spiritual and the bodily, shall exist in pure untroubled harmony; the body, in its spiritual qualities, and its freedom from earthly desires, shall be a perfect organ of the spirit. The whole of nature is bound up in solidarity with man, and therefore the royal priesthood of Christians which embraces all nature shall then first appear in all its brightness.

Of the fire, which will encompass the Redeemer when He comes from heaven and burn up the present fashion of the world, Paul says, with immediate reference to the contemporary teachers of the Gospel, but clearly also in a sense applying to all believers, that the true character of every man's work or building shall be manifested on the day of judgment by the trying and consuming fire. What any man has built (in deed or teaching) on the good foundation (faith in Christ) will either be recognised as suitable to the foundation, and will endure the cleansing fire, or will appear to be foreign matter, and be consumed by the fire as wood or stubble. The author will receive a reward, if his work endures; if not, he will forfeit it, but will himself be saved, yet so as by fire (like a man who escapes out of the fire alive, but with the loss of all his property, and not unscathed by the flames).[2] Thus the apostle repre-

[1] Apoc. xxi. 5. 2 Pet. iii. 7—10. Rom. viii. 20—22.
[2] 2 Thess. i. 8. 2 Pet. iii. 10. 1 Cor. iii. 12—15.

sents the last burning of the world as a means for accomplishing, in the shortest time, the trial and cleansing of those found alive when the Lord appears, and closing the trial of those already dead.

When all is now fulfilled, when the earthly and heavenly Church are become completely one, when every strife is extinguished by the perfect victory over all hostile powers of the world, and death, the last enemy, is overcome by the general resurrection, then the royalty of Christ ceases; for there is no longer any Church that needs a Mediator, Protector and Champion. The Son will give up to the Father the kingdom He has hitherto ruled for the Father's glory, and according to His will, "that God may be all in all."[1] As Man, of common nature with those whose Head He is, and who are members of His body, He will be subjected to the Father; but, as the Divine Word, He will be consubstantial with Him. Thus the glory of the blessed will be that of their Head, and the glory of Christ will be His Father's. It will dwell in Him by virtue of His eternal generation from the Father, and communicate itself to His human nature, and through that to His members, and thus will God be all in every being, without extinction or limitation of individuality—all, through the two radical powers of men, the intellect and will, being fixed on Him alone, and satisfied by Him,—all, through the divine glory shining through their very bodies.

The prophetic portions of the apostolic writings, re-

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 24—28.

ferring to the future fate of the Church, rest on the predictions of Christ; especially is this so with the discourse Matthew records on the last things. The apostles assume a knowledge of its contents in believers, and sometimes make verbal references to it. Christ had taught in many parables and sayings, that after the destruction of Jerusalem would follow a period, necessarily long, for the conversion and Christian development of the Gentiles; He had declared that "the kingdom"—the possession and use of God's kingdom on earth—hitherto entrusted to the Jews, would be taken from them, and given to a ruling Heathen nation that would bring forth the true fruits of faith. He had further announced that He would return in Person, and in sight of all men, and had bidden His disciples look for His coming with lively hope and constant watchfulness; adding, that the time of His coming was hidden from all, and would so continue till its accomplishment, for it was not for them to know the seasons the Father had put in His own power. There was, therefore, no sign given of His return to judgment; He would come suddenly at a time when they looked not for Him, perhaps before they expected Him, perhaps after a long time, and yet unexpectedly. But He would certainly come at a time of carnal security and thoughtless levity; He had foretold in connection with His coming a series of events which would fall within the lifetime of His contemporaries, and of which the judgment hanging over Jerusalem was the centre. On its destruction the "times of the Gen-

tiles" were to follow, and not till those times were fulfilled would His Second Coming take place.[1]

Jesus had specially characterised the physical horrors and moral abominations that would precede and usher in the destruction of Jerusalem, in order to guard His followers against being seduced by false prophets, who would then appear in great numbers. He had foretold that it would be almost impossible, under the circumstances, to withstand their deceits, and that very many would fall away. He at the same time described this judgment on Jerusalem, in the symbolic language of prophecy, as connected with His (invisible) presence, and bade His disciples await His coming and recognise it in that event; for the fate of the holy city was a type of the last general judgment, and this His first appearing of the second at the end of the world. He said to the Jewish rulers at His condemnation, that hereafter they would see the Son of Man come in the fulness of divine power. Thus His presence, which he called in prophetic language a coming on the clouds of heaven, would consist in the manifestation of His divine interposition in human affairs as the exalted Protector of His Church. This they would behold, of course only with the eyes of faith, for He had already told them that they would then first see or recognise Him, when they acknowledged and honoured him as Messiah.[2]

The apostles had these expressions and announcements

[1] Matt. xxiv. xxv. 1—30; xxi. 43. Mark xiii. 32. Acts i. 7. Luke. xxi. 24.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 5, 24; xxvi. 64; xxiii. 39.

before their eyes when they spoke of the appearance or presence of the Lord. They knew that His last return to judgment at the close of the present age of the world was concealed from all, even the angels of heaven, that the day would come suddenly, and unlooked for, "as a thief in the night," an expression Paul borrowed from the Lord. The duration of what Christ called the "times of the Gentiles" was a secret they could not look into; it might end conceivably in one generation. Their Master had said, "Watch, for you know not the day or the hour," and so they said to the Churches. That many of their contemporaries would live to see that first catastrophe, in which Christians were to recognise an anticipatory and typical Coming of Christ, they knew well. But when would be the Second Coming and the Resurrection? Both first and second alike they named "the day," or "the appearing of the Lord." And all they could say definitely about the latter was, that it would not be foretold by signs, that it would come as the lightning, as a thief or a snare upon all, as well the careless as the watchful. It might be in a few years, or it might be after many centuries. But they were bidden to look for Him as servants for their master, virgins for the bridegroom, and the intermediate time was always regarded as the "last time," the final period of the world's history. Peter says in one place, "the end of all things is at hand," and elsewhere, "a day with the Lord is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day," and that if He delayed His promised Coming, it was not from dilatori-

ness, but from long suffering love. So Paul once wished to live till His last appearing, so as not to be "unclothed" by death, but "clothed upon" by the resurrection; but later he puts before himself the martyr's bloody death, sees his course accomplished, his fight fought out, and only awaits the just reward. James says, "The coming of the Lord is nigh—the Judge stands before the door," and it has been correctly observed that this is an evidence of the Epistle, being composed before the destruction of Jerusalem. With John, again, the last hour, the Coming of the Lord, is at hand; he recognises it in its signs already beginning, the entrance of antichristian lies and false teaching.[1]

It was, then, a day of the Lord, a first appearing of Christ, when Jerusalem, the temple, and the whole hitherto indestructible constitution of Judaism in Church and State fell, while the Christian Church, previously entangled by its bonds, attained full freedom. Therein was revealed, as in burning and shining lightning, the majesty of the glorified Son of Man. The apostles knew that this Coming of Christ was at hand, and thence their frequent intimations of its nearness and their expressions of hope. "We see the day approach," says the Epistle to the Hebrews,—the appearances of the time were already fulfilling what Christ foretold as signs of His Coming. But when the last decisive Advent

Luke xxi. 24, καιροὶ ἐθνῶν. Matt. xxv. 13. Mark xiii. 35 sqq. 1 Thess. v. 2—4. 2 Pet. iii. 8—10. 1 Pet. iv. 7. Apoc. xvi. 15. Heb. i. 2. 1 Cor. x. 11. Phil. iii. 10; ii. 17. 2 Tim. iv. 6 sqq. James v. 8, 9. 1 John ii. 18—22.

would follow, and after what interval, that the apostles knew not. They only knew and taught that it must continually be looked and watched for, and that the possibility of its taking place at once must be kept in mind. It might follow immediately on the fall of Jerusalem, or the two events might be divided by centuries, for "a thousand years with God are as one day." But the whole period between the first appearance of Messiah on earth and His Second Coming is the "last. time;" the closing period of the ages of the world has begun, whether it be a short or a long one. "We, who are alive," Paul says of those who shall survive to the end, which implies the possibility—but only the possibility,—that he and others of his contemporaries might witness the catastrophe. He says "we," by reason of that fellowship in faith which bound together all believers, the future and the yet unborn; for he only knew that the time was hidden in impenetrable darkness from all, even the most enlightened, and would come suddenly and unexpectedly, because with no signs to announce it, on all, even the watchers. Elsewhere he expects and desires to be dissolved soon. Christ Himself, on whose statements all the apostles say about His Coming, the judgment, and the end of the world, is based, had declared that the Gospel should first be preached to all nations. And Paul expected, after the Heathen had been evangelized, the conversion of the unbelieving Jews. But whether these two events would be realised in a longer or a shorter time was shrouded from the apostles' view, and

they saw everything, as it were, foreshortened in the future of the world and of the Church, in all the approach of the beginning of the end. "The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night," and the apostles and first believers only saw as men see by night, when the mere outlines of objects are perceived, not their relative distance. At the end of the apostolic age, in the Apocalypse Christians had, for the first time, a closer sight given them into the details of the future and the divine counsels; but even there it is but an account under various forms of the Coming of the Judge. At the opening of the first seal John sees the Lord going forth to victory, at the end He goes forth again from heaven to subdue His enemies.[1]

Christ gave as a principal sign of the approaching judgment on Jerusalem the appearance of pretended prophets and false Messiahs; they were to exercise by their magical signs and wonders a power of delusion which only the elect could withstand. When Paul took leave of the Churches in Asia Minor, he judged, from what he saw there, that such false teachers and ravening wolves would speedily break into the Church from without, and arise within its own bosom. He described them more exactly in his Epistle to Timothy, and John, who saw them in full action with their strong delusions, recognised therein the sign of "the last hour," given by Christ. "You have heard," he said, "that Antichrist will

[1] Matt. xxiv. 27. 1 Pet. iv. 7; 2 Pet. iii. 10. 1 Thess. iv. 15, 17. 1 Cor. iv. 5; xi. 26. 1 Tim. vi. 14. Heb. x. 25, 37. James v. 8. 1 John ii. 18. Phil. i. 23. Apoc. vi. 2; xix. 11.

come, your expectation is already fulfilled, the Spirit of Antichrist is in the world, and many have already disclosed themselves as children of that Spirit. The spirit of Antichrist is that heresy planted and fostered from the beginning by great lies, which denies that Jesus is the Christ, the promised Messiah, or Docetically deprives him of His human nature." As yet believers had only been told in general to expect the appearance of an opponent or rival of Christ; the apostle gives concrete shape to that notion or expectation, by repeatedly declaring that the new heretics who denied the God-man, and thus laid their hands on the very foundation of faith, were not merely fore-runners of a future Antichrist, but the incarnation of the antichristian spirit already in the world, the impersonation of the principle; every one of them was in the proper sense of the term an Antichrist. This designation is not used by the other apostles. John is the only one who employs it, and that five times, clearly to characterise a heresy that denies the Person and dignity of Christ as God and Man. Antichristianism is a simple lie, the spirit of Antichrist the spirit of lying and deceit; they are false prophets and tools of Satan, the father of lies, who, led by that spirit, rob Christians of the truth and of their blessing, by denying that Christ has come in the flesh. John distinguishes the one Antichrist, of whose coming believers had heard, from the many already come; but the latter are closely related to the former, it is his spirit that works in them, and is manifested by them.[1]

[1] Acts xx. 29, 30. 2 Tim. iii. 1 sqq. 1 John ii. 18, 22, 26; iv. 3, 6. 2 John 7.

But it is quite conceivable that John expected a chief Antichrist to go before the personal coming of the Lord who should successfully disseminate far and wide a false teaching, denying and removing the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. Only the faint image of such a "theological" antagonist of Christ can have floated before the apostle's mind.

In the Apocalypse is found neither name nor thing. The beast John saw coming up out of the sea is the Roman Empire in its Heathen hostility to Christianity. It has a name of blasphemy on its seven heads, for in blasphemous pride it has itself worshipped, and the dragon gives it power and dominion to serve as the instrument of his fury. The other beast that came up from the earth is the false prophetic system of Heathendom, as then represented by philosophers and priests, by the soothsaying and magic of conjurors and oracle-mongers. It is twice expressly named the "false prophet;" it has the form of a lamb and speaks as a dragon, and deceives men by its wonder-working to worship the first beast (the Roman Empire in the person of the Emperor and the goddess Roma), it causes images of the beast to be set up and worshipped, and all who take part in that idolatry to be marked or branded, so that none who have not the mark can buy or sell. Further on, the Antichristian Roman power is described under two forms, the beast and the harlot sitting on it. The beast is the Roman Empire, and its red colour the sign of the blood it sheds, but the "great whore" is the City of Rome, where is the throne of the beast. She rules

over kings, she sits on many waters, to signify her dominion over nations; she is seen in the wilderness, because of her approaching desolation. Arrayed in purple and scarlet clothing, the emblem of royal power and of the stains of Christian blood, she bears in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and filth, for she is the new Babylon, which, like the old, has made kings and peoples drunk with the wine of her impure idolatry, and filled the world with her abominations. She is "drunken with the blood of the saints and martyrs of Jesus." But she will be laid waste and depopulated amid the lamentations of the merchants and shipmasters who served her luxury. After the city has fallen, judgment will be executed on the beast (the persecuting Empire), and its assistant, the false prophet, as also on the inhabitants of the earth who worshipped the beast. Then follows the period of the Church's freedom and dominion indicated by a thousand years, during which the Heathen idolatry is overcome and done away, and Satan chained in the bottomless pit has no power to persecute the Church as before. At last he is again set free and deceives distant nations (Gog and Magog), to make a vain assault on the "beloved city," the Church, which is described as a strong kingdom, or fortified city. The hostile peoples are not called Heathen, for those Satan would have no need first to deceive, while it is precisely this deceiving that is dwelt upon.[1] Neither

[1] Apoc. xiii., xvi., xvii., xix., xx. The expression ἔθνη (Apoc. xx. 3, 8), does not imply Heathen, as Düsterdieck thinks (*Offenb. Joh.* p. 548), creating a difficulty on his view insoluble.

the beast nor the false prophet are here the deceivers, for the old Roman Heathenism is long ago extinguished; beast and prophet alike made harmless. It is another kind of deceiving, an error quite distinct from idolatry, that is alluded to. What instrument Satan could make use of is not stated, and immediately after the last deceiving and attack on the "holy City," follows the judgment of Satan and the world, and the end. There is therefore no reference to a person specially called Antichrist in the Apocalypse, nor any place for introducing him.

But in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, Paul announces the speedy approach of a "Man of Sin," whom he does not call Antichrist, but in whom later ages have thought they saw all the characteristics of a great opponent and rival of Christ. Paul wanted to meet the erroneous notion that the end of all things and the day of the Lord was already come, and that the great catastrophe would immediately occur. He shows that this could not be so, because there were three events to come first, viz., a great falling away from the Church, the appearance of a mighty Antiochus, and his attempt on the temple of Jerusalem. When the end would come, whether after centuries or thousands of years, he knew not; the day and hour not even angels knew. But he did know that these events must come first, and he expected them to come shortly, for he knew whose existence alone stood in the way of the approach of the "Man of Sin." What he says here about these future events, which must precede the "day of the Lord," or

the last catastrophe, he drew from the announcements of Christ, the prophesy of Daniel to which Christ referred, and from observation of certain contemporaneous events. Christ had foretold that many false prophets and false Christs would precede His coming, that they would cause many believers to fall away, through their craftiness and lying wonders, and that it would be a bitter time of oppression and persecution. He had further declared that Daniel's prediction of the abomination of desolation, or desecration, in the holy place—that is, the temple—would be fulfilled by a hostile army.[1]

Paul had witnessed an event fourteen years before which had undoubtedly made a profound impression on him, as on all Jews of that day. This was the order of Caligula, to set up his colossal image in the sanctuary of the temple at Jerusalem, and that henceforth it should be called the temple of Caius, the new Jupiter. The Syrian pro-consul, Petronius, at the head of a division of the army, was to superintend this erection and crush the foreseen opposition of the Jews. The whole nation was roused. They said, the Emperor must kill them all before they suffered this to be done. Philo and Josephus bear witness to the condition of things and state of feeling. Philo says, "The whole world, all cities, peoples, men and women flattered and did homage to him, and

[1] Matt. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14. Luke xxi. 20. Luke clearly refers to the same prophecy as Matthew and Mark. Christ therefore declared that the abomination mentioned in Matthew and Mark would be the work of a hostile army, or coincide with the siege of Jerusalem.

thereby increased his inordinate pride; the Jewish people alone would take no part in the blasphemy of making a created and mortal man into an eternal God. But he would have nothing on earth, not even this one temple, left to God the Lord, that everywhere his own divinity and the gods he tolerated should be worshipped. Thence his hatred of the Jews, whom he treated as the basest slaves, and threatened with a war of extermination."[1] The Synagogues at Alexandria had already been changed into temples, or chapels of the new Emperor-god, by the forcible erection of his image. When the deputies of the Alexandrian Jews came before him to implore protection, he replied, "You are those men hated of God who will not call me God, as all others acknowledge me to be, and give the preference to a nameless One," and then, raising his hand with threatening gesture towards heaven, he broke out into words of blasphemy, which even to listen to, Philo says, was sin. Shortly before his murder, when he went to Egypt, he was busied with this scheme, for having his image, already prepared at Rome, carried to the temple at Jerusalem, so that the whole nation, as Josephus says, which would have infallibly risen in revolt, was only saved from destruction by the death of Caius.[2]

Paul had lived through this agony and danger of his nation, and knew how the *cultus* of the deified Emperors was constantly spreading and increasing. If Cæsar was deified after death, temples and altars were erected to

[1] *De Leg. ad Caium* opp. ed. Par., 1640, 1008.
[2] Jos. *Archæol.* 79, 1.

Augustus during life. Eleven Asiatic cities contended for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius during his reign.[1] Under Caius, the worship of the living deity at Rome was organised throughout the Empire. All this Paul saw; he saw the Asiatic cities, where he worked, rival each other in this *cultus*, and whole communities accounting it an honour to become temple ministers and acolytes of the Emperor-god. And again, the temple at Jerusalem was as good as in the hands of the Romans; their garrison lay in the castle of Antonia, which commanded the temple, and on all high festivals the cohorts marched out to keep the people in order and remind them of their dependence and servitude even in what concerned divine worship. For a long time the sacred vestments of the high priest were kept by the Romans locked up in the castle.[2] And the Jews knew well that the Emperors gave the management of the temple at their mere caprice to whom they would, as Claudius first gave it to Herod, prince of Chalcis, at his request. They were obliged to accept the sacrificial gifts of the Emperors for offering in their temple. Since the Emperors had themselves become gods, this was viewed as a courteous acknowledgment paid by one god to his equal; and how bitterly the Jews felt the dishonour of this oppression, appeared under Nero, when the priests were persuaded by Eleazer the zealot to refuse the Emperor's gifts, and declared they would

[1] Tac. *Ann.* iv. 56. Cf. "*Heidenthum und Jud.*" p. 614 sqq.

[2] Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* v. 5, 8. Claudius first gave back the robes to their care at their request. Jos. *Arch.* xx. 1, 2.

receive no more offerings from any but Jews, which was the signal for war against Rome.[1] And moreover, the unexampled splendour and beauty of the temple, which surpassed that of any other building in the Roman Empire, was a constant invitation to the Heathen to attempt to appropriate it. Its enigmatical, imageless worship of a nameless God, was a standing inducement to fill up the emptiness of this sanctuary and service according to Roman notions, to put an end to the solitary anomaly of a temple without god or image, and instal the god upon earth, the living and visible Emperor-god in a building so worthy of him. The attempt of Caius does not stand alone; Pilate had before undertaken under Tiberius to hang up in the temple several shields dedicated to the imperial deity. And his act was sure of applause and active support from surrounding nations, partly from hatred of the Jews, partly from desire to see this One God humiliated. Hence, Philo observes that, when Caligula enacted that every one should be at liberty to erect altars, temples and images to him and his in Judæa, and that any attempt at opposition should be punished with death, it was expected that the Gentiles would fill the whole land with altars and images.[2]

A profanation of the temple was as shocking to Christians as to Jews. The Lord had called it His Father's house; the first and last act of His public ministry was to cleanse it, and His disciples recognised the fulfilment of that saying, "the zeal of thine house devoured me,"

[1] *Bel. Jud.* ii. 17, 2. [2] *Leg. ad Caium.* p. 1038.

in His act. The first Christian community at Jerusalem treated the temple as its own, and assembled there daily; Paul undertook one of his journeys to Jerusalem solely to perform a vow in it.[1] The apostles and Christians, therefore, could only regard as "the Man of Sin and Son of Perdition" him whom they looked on as the author of that profanation Christ spoke of. And, above all, in what light must the Jewish converts have regarded the Emperors of that day? Cæsar had destroyed their last semblance of national independence, and handed them over to a foreigner, the Idumean Antipater and his sons. Augustus had maintained the frightful tyranny of the odious Herod. Under Tiberius, and in his name, Pilate had given up Christ to be crucified. Caligula persecuted those who would not worship him, and Claudius had banished from Rome both Jews and Christians with them. And now all the Emperors were gods, with temples, altars, and priests. Enmity against Christ, contempt of the true God, despotic persecution of His people was their characteristic. What the beast with seven heads in the Apocalypse wills and does, one of the Emperors does in Paul's writings, as "the Adversary."

The description of this "Man of Sin" is borrowed, partly in the same words, from that of Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel. The prophet says of that bloody persecutor of the Jews, who had an altar erected to the Olympian Zeus in the temple at Jerusalem, and also desecrated Heathen shrines, so that Polybius saw in his

[1] John ii 17. Acts ii. 46; xviii. 18 sqq.

horrible death a judgment on sacrilege;—"The king shall exalt and magnify himself against every god, and shall speak proudly against the God of gods; . . . . he shall not regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women (Nanæa, the Persian Artemis), nor regard any god, but exalt himself against all."[1] Even so "the Adversary" of the Epistle "exalts himself against every so-called god, and every image" (or sanctuary.)[2] It is a new Antiochus, a Heathen monarch that Paul refers to. Only such an one could be characterized as exalting himself above every god or idol, and making himself worshipped as God.[3] The statement is then intelligible, of any Jew or Christian it is not. This is self-evident, because every one exalts himself above what he despises and counts for nought, and such a deification of one's self, and exaltation over other gods, is only possible from a Heathen point of view. The "Lawless one" Paul mentions chooses to be one of the gods, but the chief and most powerful of them, like Caligula, Nero, Domitian and other Emperors, whose unlimited earthly authority must have really seemed to them far greater than the power

[1] Dan. xl. 36, 37. [The Vulgate reads in verse 37, "et erit in concupiscentiis feminarum."—Tr.]

[2] σέβασμα 2 Thess. ii. 4. The word only occurs again in Acts xvii. 23, where Paul says to the Athenians, "I beheld your sanctuaries," *i. e.* altars and images. Theophylact explains it, εἰδωλα, Theodoret (Therap. 2), says to the Heathen, οὐκετι τὸ θεῖον εἰς πόλλα μερίσετε σεβάσματα. The word is used also for image, in Wisd. xv. 17.

[3] πᾶς λεγόμενος θεὸς is explained by "so-called gods," in 1 Cor. viii. 5, as opposed to the one God of Christians, with the addition, "as there are many gods and many lords," namely, preternatural powers, or "demons," worshipped by the Gentiles as gods.

of such a god as Apollo or Mercury, and who knew they were in a position to decree new gods and forbid and abolish existing worships, in a manner to annihilate a god.[1] "Kill me, or I thee," cried Caligula, to Jupiter, whom he accused of having usurped the capitol, in the words of Homer.[2] That is to exalt oneself above every so-called god and idol, and of course this could only happen when Heathenism was still dominant, and there were still idols. Since Heathenism died out, such an "exaltation" is become impossible. Therefore, Paul calls the new god "the Lawless," using an expression chiefly applied to Heathen lawlessness.[3]

This evil-doer will now also seize on the temple of God. This must mean the only then existing temple of the true God, that at Jerusalem, to which, in the words of a contemporary writer, East and West looked with

[1] Facit et hoc ad causam nostram, quod apud vos de humano arbitratu divinitas pensitatur. Nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit. Tertull. *Apol.* 5. Olshausen's statement (*Bibl. Commentar.* iv. 509) that "the Emperors did not exalt themselves *over* the other gods, but only wished to have a place *next to* them, as representatives of the Roman people," is therefore quite incorrect. It was precisely exaltation over the gods that the Roman Emperors wanted. He who was himself worshipped as god, and as Pontifex Maximus settled the whole divine cult and made or unmade gods, did exactly what Paul says. Under Heliogabalus, Jupiter himself had to take rank under the new Syrian deity, and the Emperor went still further, id agens nequis Romæ deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur. Lamprid. Vit. Hel., p. 796, ed. Lugd., 1671.

[2] Sueton. Calig. 22. Dio. Cass. 59, 26.

[3] ἄνομος. Cf. Mark xv. 28. Luke xxii. 37. Acts ii. 23. 1 Cor. ix. 21. Rom. ii. 12. So again 1 Macc. ii. 44; iii. 5. Wisd. xvii. 2. ἄνομοι vocantur κατ' ἐξοχήν in N. T. Gentiles, qui legem Mosaicam non habent, says Schleussner, *Lex.* in verb.

reverence as to a sun.[1] Paul had here before his eyes the prophecy of Daniel, which Christ had spoken of as shortly to be fulfilled; he meant Caligula, and expected, as under the circumstances was likely, that a new attempt on the temple would be made from Rome at once.[2] In the Gospel, composed according to the oldest testimony under Paul's influence, a desecration or desolation, the abomination in the holy place, is connected with the siege of Jerusalem.[3] Paul, therefore, anticipated that the profanation would be wrought by a Roman Emperor and his army. He thought of Nero.

The Epistle is commonly supposed to have been written A. D. 53. Claudius was then on the throne. His step-son, Nero, Caligula's nephew, who had been brought up under the care of a dancer and a barber, was already married to the Emperor's daughter, adopted into the Claudian family, and proclaimed by the senate "prince

[1] The explanation of *ναὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* as the Christian Church is now given up by every sensible commentator. What could "seating himself in the Church" mean? That could not be said of one who belonged to it, but only of one forcibly entering it from without, an enemy or persecutor. To say of a member of the Church, that he sits in it to be worshipped as God, is *contradictio in adjecto*. The expression might in itself mean the Church, as elsewhere (Eph. ii. 21) it is called "a holy temple in the Lord," but then the meaning must be fixed by the context. But here the immediate context referring to Heathen gods and *σεβάσματα* necessarily implies that something cognate is designated by the temple of God, a *σέβασμα* or visible sanctuary, which could be profaned. Cf. Philo. *Leg. ad. Caj.* p. 1019.

[2] Christ spoke of a new or second fulfilment. The first was accomplished by Antiochus Epiphanes. Cf. 1 Macc. i. 50, 51, where the words of Dan. xii. 11 are so applied.

[3] Luke xxi. 20.

of the youth," a title then officially designating the heir of the throne.[1] It was well known that his mother Agrippina would only allow him and not Britannicus to succeed. Claudius had already commended him to the people by an edict and declared in a letter to the Senate that, in case of his death, Nero was of age to reign. Nero took his uncle Caligula more and more for a model, of whom Josephus says that only his sudden death delivered the Jews from extermination.[2] And he soon surpassed his model.[3] His reign corresponded to the apostle's expectation; on the throne he was really the man of sin exalted over all gods and all sanctuaries. That he out-bid all the world had yet seen in shameless transgression of decency and law, and was in the fullest sense of the word "lawless," is notorious.[4] Pliny called him the enemy and common scourge of the human race. On the other hand, the Armenian king Tiridates publicly declared him before the Roman people to be his God whom he adored as the sun itself. On his entrance into Rome, on returning from Greece, sacrifices were

[1] Princeps juventutis. See Eckhel. *Doctr. Num.* viii. 371 sq.

[2] Jos. Arch. 19, 1.

[3] πρὸς τὸν Γαΐον ἔτεινεν says Dio (*Excerpt. ad. Val.* 681.) ὡς δ' ἅπαξ ζηλῶσαι αὐτὸν ἐπεθύμησε, καὶ ὑπερεβάλετο.

[4] It was the common view of the Fathers that by saying "the mystery of lawlessness already worketh," Paul meant Nero. So say Victorinus, Hilary, Chrysostom, Jerome. Augustine and Theodoret also mention it. Nero, they say, was the type of Antichrist, cujus jam facta velut Antichristi videbantur (Aug. Civ. Dei. 20, 19) or, quod ille (Antichristus) operaturus est postea in isto (Nerone) ex parte completur (Hieron. Ep. 51, ad Algas Q. 2.) A great many moderns have followed this view, Lyranus, Erasmus, Gagney, Guilland, Cornelius a Lapide, &c.

offered to him all along the road. He counted it a crime in Thraseas that he did not offer to his divine voice.[1] He despised all gods and worships; only for awhile he served the Syrian goddess, but her image, too, he shamefully dishonoured, and he took vengeance on Apollo and his Delphian oracle by depriving him of his lands in Cyrrha, killing men in the sanctuary, choking up the cavern, and dragging away five hundred statues.[2]

Nero personally undertook nothing against the temple at Jerusalem, but he appointed Vespasian general in the war, and thus after his death introduced that desecration and abomination of desolation in the holy place, which Paul, following the intimations of Christ and the prophecy of Daniel, called a sitting in the temple. The apostle did not, of course, mean this literally, but he meant to say that the Heathen power would dominate even the temple, that even this or the holy city would be profaned by the worship of the Emperor.[3] In the

[1] Suet. 25. Dio. Cass. i. 62, p. 714.

[2] Religionum usquequaque contemptor, præter unius deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprevit ut urina contaminaret. Suet. 56. Dio. i. 63. p. 721. Pausan 813, Ed. Sieb. Lucian *Nero*, *Opp.* ed. Bipont. ix. 302.

[3] Origen had already perceived that Paul's words about sitting in the temple were simply an application of Daniel's prophecy about the abomination of desolation ὥσπερ παρὰ Πάυλῳ λέλεκται, ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κάθισαι, ἀποδείκνυντα ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι ἐστὶ θεὸς, τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Δανιηλ τοῦτον εἴρηται εἰς τρόπον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως κ. τ. λ. Contr. Cels. vii. 46. To imagine a literal fulfilment of Paul's prophecy is to forget that he was not accurately predicting the future by virtue of any special prophetic inspiration of his own, but merely applying to the instruction of the Thessalonians the knowledge and expectation of approaching events the Church had derived

Sibylline books, too, Nero is mentioned as the destroyer of the temple;[1] the Jewish author, who lived at the time or near it, knew well that Vespasian was the commander, but the real author of the war against Jerusalem was Nero. Christ gave as the fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy the appearance of Gentile troops on the temple hill; Paul's prophecy, that the would-be God should sit in the temple and be worshipped, was fulfilled when the Roman eagles with images of the Emperor were planted in the "holy place" of the temple, and the Emperor worship of Heathen Rome was regularly practised where the service of the true God had been observed.[2]

Paul had already given the Thessalonians more exact information, orally, about the event he is writing of. He is here reminding them of it, and at the same time recalls to their memory that he had also described to them the person who as yet stands in the way of the open appearance of the "Man of Sin." You know, he

from the words of Christ. All that is essential in his description is fulfilled in Nero and the events connected with him. This, of course, no more excludes the belief afterwards prevalent in the Church, of a partial fulfilment at the end of the world, than the first fulfilment of Daniel's prophecy by Antiochus Epiphanes excluded a second by the Romans, as Christ announced.

[1] ὃς ναὸν θεότευκτον ἔλεν καὶ ἔφλεξε πολίτας. 5. 150. p. 108. ed. Friedlieb. He is before clearly described as Nero, the matricide, &c.

[2] Religio Romanorum tota castrensis signa veneratur, signa jurat, signa omnibus diis præponit. Tertul. *Apol.* 16. Cf. Joseph. *Arch.* vi. 32. *Herodian* iv. 4. Baur has observed, "Even after the temple was no longer standing, the place where it had stood was considered as holy as itself, as is proved by the erection of the idol under Hadrian. *Theol. Jahrb.* 1855. 158.

says, him who is now in possession, so that the lawless one will first appear *in his own time*. But already "the mystery of lawlessness worketh," or is already preparing for its open manifestation; it has to wait awhile, but as soon as the present "possessor" is out of the way, the lawless one will be revealed.[1] Claudius is here intended, and it is very intelligible why the apostle, in a letter which might easily fall into the wrong hands, expresses himself about the situation in so enigmatical and secret a manner. The Christians could not misunderstand him. And in fact, Claudius contrasts most

[1] ὁ κατέχων is commonly rendered "he that impedes," but the word does not properly mean to impede, hinder, or divide; but to possess, contain, hold, rule. See the passages collected in Dindorf's *Thesaurus*. Its meaning of κωλυειν, which Dindorf gives after κρατεῖν and συνέχειν, comes only from the senses coinciding in such expressions as κατεχειν τὴν ὀργὴν, τα δάκρυα,—to hold back. In the N. T., especially with Paul, who most often uses the word, it always means to possess, hold; nowhere to restrain, not even in Rom. i. 18, as the context shows. Chrysostom, indeed, interprets it τὸ κώλυον, but only from following the traditional notion that the Roman Empire is meant. For the rest, the holder or possessor is here always the hinderer, he that stands in the way; when the Man of Sin is come into possession (of power) he will first come forward with his blasphemy, &c. The neuter, τὸ κάτέχον, is explained by the following masculine, ὁ κατέχων. A person is referred to who also represents a thing, the Empire. μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται, *i.e.*, μόνον ἕως ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι, &c., as Gal. ii. 10. μόνον τῶν πτωχῶν ἵνα μνημονεύωμεν, "until the present possessor is removed." The Vulg. rightly translates ὁ κατέχων, qui tenet, but interpolates, teneat, which changes the sense, and has given occasion to such interpretations as that of Estius (Comm. ii. 195): quicunque tenet Christum et veram ejus religionem, firmiter retineat, donec de medio ecclesiæ fiat apostasia. So Calmet: que celui qui a maintenant la foi, la conserve jusqu'à ce que cet homme (l'Antichrist) soit détruit. Such palpable disfiguring of the sense needs no answer.

markedly in this respect with his predecessor, Caligula, and his successor, Nero. He had forbidden sacrifice and divine honours to be offered to himself as a god, and had further directed that the adoration paid to Caligula should not be continued to him, nor divine homage be exhibited when he appeared in public. But Nero and Agrippina were impatient for his death; and soon after (A.D. 54) he was "removed out of the way," by Locusta's poison, and the new Emperor-god was able to appear.

This wicked one "Christ will destroy by the breath of His mouth, and the brightness of His presence;" that is, He will execute judgment on this Man of Sin, as He will also on Jerusalem,—both alike will be an effect of His presence. It has been already observed, that Paul knew nothing about the time of Christ's personal coming, and made no express distinction between the first and second coming. He had a type of this wicked one in Antiochus, of whom Daniel said, that he should come to his end without deliverance, and whose death is treated in Maccabees as a divine judgment on the profaner of the sanctuary of the true God. And therefore the words of Isaiah, which Paul has here partly adopted, were already applied by the Jews to Messiah's victory over his enemy, Armillus: "with the breath of His lips He shall slay the wicked."[1]

[1] Dan. xi. 45. 1 Macc. vi. 13; 2 Macc. ix. 7. Isa. xi. 4. Of late, much trouble has been taken to force upon the writer of the Apocalypse and the early Church the fable about Nero's miraculous resurrection from the dead and appearance as Antichrist. So Ewald, de Wette, Lücke, Bleek, Baur, as before Corrodi and Eichhorn. Kern thinks the author of

If Paul connects the appearance of the "Adversary" with Satanic agency, that is all the more natural, as he connects the more potent manifestations of Heathenism generally, the Heathen rejection or hatred of the faith, with Satanic operations: "the god of this world has blinded the minds of unbelievers;" "works in the sons of

2 Thess. (which is therefore spurious) also believed in this fable, and referred to Nero's future return as Antichrist. There was certainly a report spread soon after Nero's death that he was still alive, concealed somewhere, and would reappear. But there is no trace for the first three centuries of the Christians having founded on it the story that he would be brought back to life by divine omnipotence, that there might be a bodily Antichrist. The Sibylline Books are referred to, and Baur has quoted the passages where Nero is mentioned and his return predicted (Tübing. theol. Jahrb. 1852, p. 318 sqq.). But, first, they say nothing of Nero's *death;* they make him fly and disappear, and afterwards return; next, how could it be forgotten that these fragments were composed by Jews, not by Christians? Persecution of Christians is not alluded to; besides his notorious crimes, as matricide, &c., it is Nero's war against "the holy people of the Hebrews," and destruction of this city and temple, that is put forward. Thus, I. 5, p. 574, we read, ὃς ναὸν θεότευκτον ἔλεν καὶ ἔφλεξε πολίτας, and at p. 575 Italy will be burnt, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ ὅλοντό Ἑβραίων ἅγιοι πιστοὶ καὶ νοὸς ἀληθήης. There is no hint in these passages of Christian belief. The first Christian who mentions the story is Commodianus, in the middle of the third century, who got it from the Sibylline books. (Spicil. Solesm. ed Pitra, i. 43.) Then comes Lactantius in the fourth century, who mentions it as a fancy only entertained by some, and refers to the Sibylline books as the source (*De Mort. Pers.* 2). But he only knows the notion of a Nero still alive. Augustine first says, Nonnulli ipsum *resurrecturum* et futurum Antichristum suspicantur. *De Civ. Dei* xx. 19, 3. But Sulpicius Severus says, "Nero is thought to have been wounded, not killed, to be still alive and destined to appear as Antichrist at the end of the world." *Hist. Sacr.* i. 2, p. 373, ed. 1647. Such notions, then, commence with the close of the fourth century; the early Church knew nothing of them. In the Jewish *Martyrdom of Isaiah*, interpolated by Gnostics, a Nero appears as Antichrist at the

unbelief."[1] The use of lying wonders and signs which Paul foresees is, again, Satanic. And it is noteworthy, that Pliny tells us nobody was more zealously devoted to magical arts than Nero, in order that he might be able to command the gods, which he so eagerly desired, that he even offered human sacrifices to them."[2] It is not, however, said that the "Lawless one" himself would work these signs, but that men would be deceived by them to their own destruction. Paul had before his eyes Christ's prophecy; and the false prophet of the Apocalypse, the beast from the earth, which by great wonders seduces men to worship the beast from the sea (the Emperor) is part of the same idea. Magical and theurgic arts were then as inseparable from Heathenism as from the heresies which sprung from Heathen elements.

The apostacy, which was to come first, was the falling away from faith, the seductions of false doctrine, which Paul elsewhere mentions, and which after its entrance occupied the apostles. How solemnly Paul tells the Ephesians, that after his departure ravening wolves,

end, but it is Satan himself, Berial, taking the form of the matricide, and "king of this world;" the Church, planted by the twelve Apostles, is given into his hand; all will believe and sacrifice to him, and only a few remain loyal to Christ; but after 330 days Christ will come and cast Berial into hell, &c. *Asc. Is.* iv. 2—14. It is the devil taking the form of a returned Nero. But these interpolations into the old Jewish text date from the fourth century only. Origen knew nothing of them. See Lücke's *Einl. in Offenb. Joh.* 297.

[1] 2 Cor. iv. 4. Eph. ii. 2. τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος, the same word as here, κατ ἐνεργείαν τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

[2] Primumque imperare diis concupivit, nec quidquam generosius valuit. *Nat. Hist.* xxx. 5.

false teachers, will arise, as well from without as from within the Church, and lead the people astray. He meant the Gnostic heretics, whom he clearly described afterwards in his Epistles to Timothy as apostates, whose entrance in "the latter times" the spirit (of prophecy) "expressly" foretold.[1] They, by magical delusions, deceived the credulous and gained them for themselves.[2] The falling away Paul mentions cannot be one to be wrought by "the Man of Sin." Of him Paul only knew that he would make himself a god, and put down or slight all other gods. He could not mean that a great number of believers would fall away, simply to flatter the pride of this man-god, and worship him. No sort of anxiety about an apostacy to this crudest, almost insane form of Heathenism, is ever expressed throughout the whole New Testament, nor any warning given against it. Paul speaks of a strong power of delusion working this result. But the apotheosis of a despot could so little deceive, that, as Philo remarks, all except the Jews took part in the divine adoration of Caligula, but purely out of terror, and against the grain.[3] But here, again, it is only the intimations of Christ, which the apostle follows.[4] He had connected

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 1, *ῥητῶς*. Acts xx. 29.

[2] The ancients call them Satanical arts, and use the same word as Paul; so Justin Martyr, of Simon, *διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τέχνης δυνάμεις ποίησας μαγικὰς*, Apol. ii. So Eusebius iii. 36, of Menander, *διαβολικῆς ἐνεργείας*. John of Damascus, remarks (iv. 26) that Paul means feigned miracles *πεπλασμένοις καὶ οὐκ ἀληθέσι*.

[3] Phil. *Leg. ad Caj.* 1008.

[4] Matt. xxiv. 23 sqq.

a great deceiving with the period of the abomination of desolation in the holy place, and so also did Paul. The coming of the Lawless one would coincide with the apostacy wrought by miracle-mongering, false teachers and magical signs. Two great judgments were to come together, the profanation and fall of the temple, and the delusion or falling away to Gnosticism of many believers. This last evil the apostle regards as a judgment on those "who, not having believed the truth, take pleasure in unrighteousness," wherefore "God will send them a strong delusion, that they may believe the lie."

THIRD BOOK.

THE CONSTITUTION, WORSHIP, AND LIFE OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

ORDERS AND OFFICES OF MINISTRY IN THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

THE Apostolic Church before the year 64 was by no means a lawless chaos; as the body of Christ, it was from the beginning a well-ordered whole, but its constitution corresponded to the double condition of a Church designed above all to spread and increase, and a Church filled with spiritual gifts, through which it was ruled, and which were bestowed without distinction of office. All power and authority was lodged in the Apostolate. As long as the apostles lived it was they who ruled the Church, and in whose hands was centred all official power. Each apostle possessed in solidarity, not a divided or partial, but a complete right of superintendence over the Christian communities; he was able and

bound to use his apostolical authority, where it was needful and useful, in every portion of the Church, whence Paul says the care of all the Churches was laid upon him.[1] They did not first make an agreement with their flocks, or receive rights from them, but stood over them with fatherly authority, as over their sons begotten in Christ. The very name of "Apostle" pointed back to One higher, whose messengers and ambassadors they were, so that whoever met a bearer of that title was compelled to ask or answer for himself the question, whose apostle this man was? The Twelve gave laws, as well conjointly, as at the Synod of Jerusalem, as separately, many of them not expressly ordained by Christ. Paul distinguished pointedly between commands, in which he was merely the interpreter of Christ, and those he promulgated by his own authority. He promised the Corinthians that he would make several regulations when he came to them. He knew how to exercise his power of punishing transgressors; the Corinthians themselves received Titus, whom he deputed, "with fear and trembling;" he threatens that he will come to them with a rod; he is ready to punish all disobedience, and will not spare when he comes; he bids the Thessalonians separate from those whose conduct is disorderly, and desires that the names of such persons may be given him. Where, as at Corinth, individuals or parties hesitated to recognise his authority, this was from not holding him to be a true apostle, so that he simply maintained against them his

[1] 2 Cor xi. 28.

claim to the apostolic office, and did not contend about the extent or rights of the office.[1]

The Apostles had their ministering disciples and subordinate helpers. Thus we find Paul and Barnabas making use of several, mostly younger men, as assistants. They were sent here and there on commissions between the apostles and the various communities, and brought a report of the state of these communities. Certain duties were left to them; as of baptizing, which the apostles usually committed to others, after Christ's example, who did not baptize Himself, but made His disciples do so. When Peter converted Cornelius and his family, he commanded "that they should be baptized;" Paul declares that he had baptized none of his Corinthian converts, except Crispus, Gaius, and the family of Stephanas; for Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel. At Ephesus he seems to have acted in the same way, for it is said of the twelve disciples of John he found there, "they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus; and when Paul had laid his hands on them the Holy Ghost came upon them." This laying on of hands was a special prerogative of the apostles, as appears here and in the case of the Samaritans, baptized by the Evangelist Philip.[2]

Peter held a pre-eminence among the apostles, which none of the rest contested. He received the keys of the kingdom, and is the rock on which the Church is

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 10; xi. 34; iv. 21; ix. 1. 2 Cor. vii. 15; x. 6; xiii. 2; xi. 5; xii. 11, 12. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14.

[2] John iv. 2. Acts x. 45, 48; xi. 16; xix. 5, 6; viii. 6—17. 1 Cor. i. 14—17.

built—that is, the continuance, increase and growth of the Church rests on the office created in his person. To him was the charge given to strengthen his brethren and feed the flock of Christ. "The Gospel of the Circumcision," as Paul says, was especially committed to him, as to the man of Tarsus that of the uncircumcision. Christ Himself was a minister of the circumcision, His Messianic energies were devoted to the good of Israel, so that He said Himself, "I am not sent, but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." In this Peter followed Him; he is peculiarly the apostle of Israel, the head of the Church of the circumcision, and he is this in a higher and more eminent sense than James, who is doubly inferior to Peter, both as being confined to Jerusalem, while Peter included the whole dispersion in his labours, and as holding aloof from the Gentiles, while Peter was the first to incorporate them into the Church, and also extended his ecclesiastical labours, though in a lesser degree, to uncircumcised converts. For there were not two Churches, one of the circumcision, one of the uncircumcision; but there was one olive-tree, one people of God, one Israel, and into this tree the Gentiles were grafted, and thereby made partakers of the root and the juice as adopted children of Abraham, whence Peter tells the Christian women of the communities he addresses, that they are daughters of Sarah.[1] And thus the apostle, to whom Israel is

[1] Gal. ii. 7. Matt. xv. 24. Rom. xv. 8; xi. 24. 1 Pet. iii. 6. Cf. infr. iv. 3, which proves that Peter was addressing communities, formed chiefly of Gentile converts.

specially entrusted by God, is necessarily the Head of the Apostolic College and the whole Church. The agreement between him and Paul regarded a division of labour, not of the Church; and Paul, who travelled to Jerusalem for the special purpose of spending fifteen days with Peter, knew well that Cephas was chief among the three pillar apostles, although he would not be dependent on him in pursuing the way showed to him by divine call and revelation, and opposed him at Antioch. The point on which Paul laid such great weight, that the Gentiles were to be converted immediately to Christ, and not through the medium of Judaism, was first taught by special revelation, not to him, but to Peter. Nor did Paul enter on his peculiar office of preaching to the Gentiles till after his fifteen days conference with Peter. While the apostles remained united at Jerusalem the primacy of Peter displayed itself on all grave occasions. It was he who arranged the filling up of the Apostolic College through Matthias' election; he fixed the form of election, confining it to those who had been companions of Christ and witnesses of His teaching and acts. He takes up the word before the people and the Sanhedrim, and works the first miracle for confirming Christ's resurrection. The punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, the anathema on Simon Magus, the first heretic, the first visiting and confirming the Churches suffering under persecution, were all his acts. If he was sent with John by the Apostolic College to the new converts at Samaria, he was himself member and president of that college. So

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the Jews sent their high priest Ismael to Nero, and Ignatius says that the neighbouring Churches in Asia had sent, some their bishops, some their priests and deacons.[1] He was always and everywhere at the head of the assembly of Jerusalem, which freed the Gentiles from observing the ceremonial law; he opened it, and his motion was carried, with the conditions added by James.

The sentence of James could not but have great weight at that Synod, for Peter, like Paul, was, in a manner, a party concerned in the question. It was known in Jerusalem that he had ordered the centurion Cornelius, and other Gentiles with him at Cæsarea, to be baptized without circumcision, and this had raised great opposition on his return. And when Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem, and the Synod was to be held, the converted Pharisees again urged that Gentiles must submit to circumcision and the law. Therefore, James, who with his community was so faithful to the law, was the best, and, for opponents, most convincing judge in this strife, and it was obvious that the decree would be made in conformity with his opinion. And hence Paul, when appealing in his Epistle to the Galatians to the pillar apostles, who gave him and Barnabas their right hand in token of fellowship, named James first, before Cephas, for in that matter, and for persons who appealed unhesitatingly to the example of the Mother Church which kept the law, the example of James had more weight than that of Peter, just as later

[1] Joseph. *Arch.* xx. 7. Ignat. *Ep. ad Philad.* 10.

the Ebionites laboured to make James' authority appear the highest in the Church. But James himself acknowledged that Peter was called by God's appointment to gather from among the Gentiles a people that should bear His name, and unite them into one Church with converted Israelites; for he confirms Peter's words, that God had chosen him among all to preach to the Gentiles. And so it became the apostle who had alone received the keys of the kingdom. Paul was the first to enter into the work Peter had begun, and build on his foundation; he could not have done so unless Peter, in consequence of their previous arrangement, had recognized him as a fellow labourer divinely called, even though he derived his mission immediately from Christ. That he stood on a lower level than Peter is shown by his own way of describing his relations to Jews and Gentiles; he took every way of "glorifying his office," as apostle of the Gentiles, by numerous conversions, that through the influence thus obtained he might rouse the emulation of some at least of his people and win them. Peter had no need of this circuitous method; he wrought, by the weight of his office, equally on Jews and Gentiles, and it was his own free act that made him afterwards prefer confining his energies chiefly to Jews. Paul was far from concealing that, in his eyes, Peter was not simply one of the Twelve, but had a peculiar position and dignity distinct from the rest, and that, accordingly, an appeal to his example had peculiar weight. He is not content with saying, "have I not power to lead about a sister like the other apostles," but

he adds, "the brethren of the Lord and Cephas." And if Peter, in mentioning the presbyters of the Churches, calls them "fellow presbyters," he was mindful of his Lord's example, who, while standing so high above the apostles, called them "His brethren," bade him strengthen his brethren, and as greatest in the kingdom be the least and humblest.[1] He saw in the presbyters men, who, like himself, served the brethren in teaching and ministration, and who, so far, were his fellow ministers.

In the constitution of the communities important changes were clearly introduced during the apostolic age. All of them had presbyters who had come over from Judaism, but their office could only be a subordinate one, where the spiritual gifts were distributed among all, and not confined to office-bearers. The extraordinary gifts conferred by laying on the apostles' hands were so widely communicated, that nearly all, or certainly very many, for a time shared them. This was a condition singular in history which has never since repeated itself, and which, in the absence of any experience, we can only approximately conceive of. The metal of the Church, so to speak, was still glowing, unformed, in fusion, and presented a very different appearance from that of its later condition, when cold and fixed. The Epistles of Paul show how much, during this early period, corporate organisation and interdependence was either wanting or was kept in the background. If we except the Epistles at the close of his life to the Philip-

[1] Acts xv. Gal. ii. 9. Rom. xi. 13, 14. 1 Cor. ix. 5. Matt. xxviii. 10. Luke xxii. 32.

pians, to Timothy and Titus, he never mentions deacons, presbyters, or bishops;[1] he has no charges, no hints or instructions about their office, to give them, and yet much which he censured in the communities or required from them must have depended on their ministry, if they already held the position we find them in afterwards. Paul only speaks of the communities. When he counts up the teachers given by God to the Church, according to their various gradations or peculiarities, the names of deacons, presbyters, and bishops do not occur among them. Thus, in Ephesians, "God has appointed apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers;" in Corinthians, "God has set in the Church first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, teachers; then powers, then gifts of healing, helps, interpretations, kinds of tongues." The apostle is clearly speaking in these passages, not of offices but of gifts. The apostles he names not as holding apostolic office but as miracuously gifted persons. The apostles, prophets and teachers avail themselves of their three-fold capacity of teaching according to their respective gifts, of teaching or of wisdom, of knowledge or of faith.[2]

[1] In Rom. xvi. 1, a deaconess is mentioned. Elsewhere Paul uses διάκονος and διακονία in a general sense, with no reference to the special office of the seven appointed at Jerusalem.

[2] Eph. iv. 11, 1 Cor. xii. 8, 9, 28. κυβερνήσεις occurs only in this place in the N. T., and is commonly rendered "governments" or "administrations." It has not that meaning in the Septuag. but consilia, prudentia, intelligentia. The *Lex. Cyrilli* explains it φρόνησις, Schleusner's *Glossæ ineditæ in Prov. Sal.* ἐπιστήμη τῶν πραττομένων, Hesychius, προνοητικαὶ ἐπιστήμαι καὶ φρονήσεις. The position of the word here between ἰαμάτων and γένη γλωσσῶν, and the plural point the same

Here is a condition of the Church, where the whole community receives its character and dominating influence from the extraordinary gifts, in a form striking and outwardly cognisable. What Paul says of the Corinthians was no doubt equally true of other communities, that they fell short in no gift. These gifts were necessary; the believer had them more for the sake of others than for his own, they were to be used for the service of others or for the whole community. For that they were given, and only so was their end attained.[1] Paul adds that, since, while all gifts were good, all were not of equal value and importance for the common weal, every one should strive for the most excellent. And since every one who enjoyed these gifts had to seek an appropriate sphere of action for their use, while yet this or that man often lost his gift again, partly by his own fault, or received a higher one in its place, we see how temporary were such relations and how little idea there could be of fixed corporate form or of definite arrangement and gradations of ecclesiastical offices and rights; nor, indeed, was any need for it as yet experienced.

But, notwithstanding this effusion of gifts, a com-

way. In the following passage v. 30 *μὴ πάντες διερμηνεύουσι* corresponds to it, and in v. 10 *διερμηνεία γλωσσῶν* or *διακρίσεις πνευμάτων*. But if *κυβερνήσεις* means the gift of government, why should Paul, who thrice reckons up the gifts in this chapter, have twice passed this one over, which was one of the most important and peculiarly bearing on the point he had in view, of showing the necessity of co-operation for a common end? And why, again, in v. 28, should he pass over *διερμηνεία* which he had twice mentioned as a special gift? Truly it is very improbable!

[1] 1 Cor. i. 7; xii. 7. 1 Pet. iv. 10.

munity could easily fall into grave errors. At the very time that he mentions the gifts of the Corinthian Church Paul has to censure its grievous abuse of them. Among the Galatians, Jewish seductions and darkening of Christian doctrine, through the notion of its being necessary to observe the law, had so far gained the upper hand, that the apostle calls them foolish and senseless; yet he appealed to the evidence of their spiritual gifts and miraculous powers, not derived from observance of the law, but from faith in Christ. The gifts of teaching and knowledge must, however, have been greatly weakened or extinguished in these communities, else so great a delusion would be inexplicable. But in this Epistle there is no trace of a fixed teaching office, but "the spiritual" among them are exhorted to use their office of denunciation. But from thenceforward the age of spiritual gifts was more and more passing away in the Churches, though some gifts and some gifted persons remained. In the first Epistle to the Thessalonians Paul insisted especially, that his Gospel had not wrought as mere doctrine, but in manifestation of the power of the Holy Ghost. But in the Epistles to the Philippians and Colossians, there is no hint of these gifts or allusion to them, though in both Churches there was direct occasion for them, in Philippi on account of the Jewish adversaries, in Colosse from the danger of heresy and the Gnostic asceticism. On the other hand, bishops and deacons are mentioned as Church officers in the Philippians. The Pastoral Epistles not only contain no mention of the gifts, but exhibit a state of the Church

entirely different. The communities of Asia Minor, especially the Ephesian, are partly threatened partly thrown into confusion by Gnostic errors, logomachies, foolish controversies, sorceries, empty babbling about matters of belief, and an advancing godlessness that eats like a canker.[1] All the advice here given to Timothy and the line he is to take against this evil is so conceived as to imply that gifts were no longer common, that in place of the first spiritual out-burst and fulness of extraordinary powers the dry, prosaic life of the Church was now begun. The Church offices not before mentioned by Paul and the qualifications for those who are to be ordained are here mentioned in passing, but it is no special gift he here requires for a presbyter. That whole domain seems, as it were, now shut out from Church ministration. So, again, in the writings of John there is nothing to imply the continuance of the gifts in the Churches of Asia Minor, though his first Epistle especially could scarcely have avoided referring to them if they still survived.

Paul has placed the Prophets of that early age with the Apostles, and, in some sense, on a par with them, as the common foundation whereon the Church was built. John puts for Christians generally saints, apostles, and prophets, and elsewhere simply saints and prophets, including under this designation all organs of Christian revelation and preachers of the counsels of God. They were divinely inspired men who spoke before the congregation out of the knowledge communicated to them in

[1] Gal. iii. 2—5; vi. 1. 1 Thess. i. 5. 1 Tim. iv. 1—3; vi. 3—20. 2 Tim. ii. 14 sqq.

the form of visions and ecstatic impressions, while those Paul calls "teachers" were, indeed, filled with the Spirit —for he reckons them among the possessors of a gift— but used a quieter and more comprehensible manner of exposition. Many of them, like the apostles, had the double office of teaching and ruling, they were "pastors and teachers." And if Paul makes separate mention of evangelists, he means those assistants chosen by the apostles who went from city to city to collect congregations and to train them. A later writer is, therefore, correct in saying that in those days every one taught in the Church, who had received with the gift the capacity of public speaking. But the matter of his teaching was subject to the judgment of the apostles and of those who had the gift of discerning spirits.[1]

In the young Church at Jerusalem, soon after the out-pouring of the Spirit, a discontent arose of the Hellenistic Jews against those of Palestine, because they thought their widows were neglected in the distribution of alms. Owing to the voluntary community of goods, the apostles had to manage the common fund and the distribution of alms and food, and the persons whose services they used seem to have given occasion to this complaint. They knew that it was time to relieve themselves of this business and responsibility, which in a rapidly increasing community could only hinder their office of teaching. The "serving of tables" was to be taken from them and given over to others, "wise men,

[1] Eph. ii. 20; iv. 11. Apoc. xviii. 20, 24; xi. 18; xvi. 6. Rom. xii. 8. 1 Thess. v. 12. 1 Cor. xii. 10.

full of the Holy Ghost." The community sought out seven men, and the apostles ordained them by prayer and laying on of hands.[1]

The whole Church has recognised in this act the institution of the Diaconate, but the seven are not so called separately or collectively in the New Testament. Luke calls Philip an evangelist, and one of the seven.[2] Care for the poor and provision for the *agape*, which were the original occasion of their appointment, became the proper office of deacons later, when the communities were fully organised. But then there were no other office-bearers, besides the apostles, in Jerusalem; the seven were the most qualified and approved men who could be selected, and two of them, Stephen and Philip, probably also others, took part in the higher apostolic duties. While Luke never speaks of deacons, he often mentions presbyters, but says nothing of their appointment; and this silence would be very strange if the apostles had, soon after ordaining the seven, also constituted a distinct presbyterate, a body taking rank above the deacons in authority and importance, but in which no single name has been preserved, while Luke gives the names of all the seven. Not till after the congregations scattered by persecution were reassembled in Jerusalem, is the existence of "elders" there mentioned, quite incidentally, when Paul and Barnabas gave them the alms from Antioch to distribute. And that was precisely the business of the seven. Luke also states that Paul and Barnabas had appointed "elders" in Pisidia, and repeatedly speaks of

[1] Acts vi. 1—6. [2] Acts xxi. 8.

the apostles and elders in Jerusalem.[1] The apostles, elders and brethren issued the decree of the Synod to the Christians at Antioch. But if the seven were distinct from the elders, they vanish without a trace.

We are thence led to infer, that, as yet, there was no distinction of deacons and priests, but that the office of the seven included the two afterwards separated. In the earlier Epistles of Paul and James, there is no trace of their co-existence. They first appear as distinguished in the Philippians and Pastoral Epistles, after the year 64. That was the second important step towards permanent Church organization, falling into the later period of the ministry of Peter and Paul. Even then there was no distinction of presbyters and bishops; the two designations were used as synonymous. The name "overseer," or bishop, is only four times used to designate an office. The Philippian Christians are addressed "with the deacons and bishops." When Paul took leave of the Ephesian elders at Miletus, he said they were appointed by the Holy Ghost as "overseers" in the flock, and to feed the Church of God. The same men whom Luke names elders, Paul calls "bishops." So Paul tells Titus he had left him in Crete, to appoint as "elders" men blameless and otherwise suitable, for an "overseer" must be blameless.[2]

It seems that originally the expression "elder" prevailed in the Jewish, "overseer" in the Gentile communities. Peter and James use the word "presbyter,"

[1] Acts xiv. 23. [2] Phil. i. 1. Acts xx. 28. Tit. i. 5 sqq.

never "bishop." The word "elder" was common among the Jews, and derived from them. There were elders in the Sanhedrim as assessors of the chief priests and scribes, and every synagogue or local congregation had a chief or president. But the name was new to the Gentiles, and they would have thought it strange that young men, as often happened, should be ordained "elders." In such communities, therefore, the apostles preferred the word bishop, which occurs in the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament, in the sense of an ecclesiastical or civil officer. In the larger cities and communities, as Jerusalem, Ephesus, Philippi and others, these presbyters, or bishops, were combined into a college, whence James bids the sick send for the presbyters of the Church (several, therefore), to anoint him.[1]

The office afterwards called episcopal was not, then, yet marked off; the Episcopate slept in the Apostolate. It was the last branch to grow out of the apostolic stem. In Jerusalem, it had already taken shape in the person of James, whose attitude towards the local Church, his renunciation of missionary work, and his remaining within the holy city, point him out as the first true bishop. The other apostles discharged their episcopal office in superintending and guiding several communities. Tradition knows only of Peter and James, one in Jerusalem, the other in Alexandria and Rome, as founders of a line of bishops, forming themselves the first link in the chain. No Pauline Church claims Paul as its first bishop; he belonged to all, and gave no such pre-eminence to any.

[1] Acts v. 21; γερουσία; xiii. 15. Luke vii. 3. James v. 14.

But his martyrdom at Rome gave the Church there a right to claim him, with Peter, as joint founder of the Roman See. The rest of the apostles have not so bound themselves to any particular Church as to be called its first bishops. Ephesus was the centre from which John administered his apostolic office, but he is never called its first bishop; indeed, the Apocalypse shows that there was another there under him. But the nearer came the moment for their departure, and for the complete separation of the Christian Church from Judaism, the more urgent was the call on them to provide for the continuation of their apostolic office, that is, to appoint bishops. We saw what weighty grounds they had for delaying this step; but there were others besides. While the temple stood, and the connexion with Judaism was not finally dissolved, the organisation of the Church was in one sense incomplete and provisional. It might in the interval have presbyters, who were a common Jewish institution, and whose appointment was no sign of separation; but the appointment of bishops would certainly have been regarded by all Jews and by Christians also, as an act sealing the exclusion of the Church, and its definitive separation from the Israelite nation and religion.[1] Therefore, the apostles retained the episcopal authority provisionally in

[1] It may be objected that James appeared as bishop in Jerusalem from the first, and under the very eye of the authorities there. But he, from his habit of visiting the temple, and his careful observance of the law, was peculiarly qualified to dispel in the minds of Jews all suspicion of an intended separation. It was different elsewhere.

their own hands. And again, until the two nationalities, Jewish and Gentile, were completely amalgamated, there would have been great difficulties about appointing a bishop, who must have belonged to one of the two classes, and have governed both. If the difference and jealousy of Hellenistic and Palestine Jews troubled the early Church and constrained the apostles to appoint officers from both parties, how much more would this be the case with the far deeper contrasts between Gentiles and sons of Israel! The only available form of government while this division remained,—in other words, while Jewish converts still observed the ritual law,—was a presbyterate gathered from, and representing both classes, subjected to the authority of the apostles, and sustained by it. A Jewish bishop would inevitably find himself in the same predicament as Peter at Antioch, while a Gentile bishop would have the greatest difficulty in dealing with the Israelites, and such difficulties were better met by the erection of domestic churches, and having several deacons and elders.[1] For the pride of birth still lived among those Jews of the dispersion who had kept from intermingling with Greeks and Syrians, in whose veins the noble Israelite blood flowed, and it would have been asking of such men more than could reasonably be expected to bid them, who from youth had been taught to regard themselves as children of grace and heirs of the kingdom, to bow to the authority of a man who but shortly before was a blind

[1] Rom. xvi. 5. Col. iv. 15. *τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαν.* Philem. 2.

and unclean Gentile. Even Paul, in one of his last Epistles, had to complain bitterly of the Judaizing seducers with their "circumcision, or rather concision." Moreover, there was great difficulty in finding the right men for an office doubly difficult under the then state of circumstances. Paul writes to the Philippians that he would shortly send them Timothy to bring him word of their condition, because he had no other equally of one heart and mind with him; the rest sought their own, not what was Christ's. Even if this severe sentence refers only to a temporary absence of suitable helpers, still it shows how the apostles were forced to keep the superintendence of the communities as long as they could in their own hands. Paul could more easily find dozens of presbyters than one bishop, one man to undertake this burden with entire self-denial and self-devotion. And even this one whom he had much rather have kept by him, to send here and there on commissions, he gave up as bishop to the Church of Ephesus, though anxious about his being despised on account of his youth.[1] So, too, Titus had only a charge from him in Crete to appoint presbyters in the island communities. How could men be found for bishops in those newly-formed communities, that had only temporarily enjoyed apostolical care, and all whose members were novices? Neophytes were not even to be made presbyters.[2]

[1] Phil. iii. 2, 3; ii. 20, 21. 1 Tim. iv. 12.

[2] οὐ γὰρ πάντα εὐθὺς ἠδυνήθησαν κατασταθῆναι οἱ ἀπόστολοι says Epiphanius quite correctly.—*Hær.* 75, p. 908, Ed. Colon.

But, as these hindrances to introducing the episcopate diminished with each year, and men gradually grew ripe for the discharge of that office, so, too, as the end of the chief apostles drew near, dangers multiplied, which forbade them to defer any longer the consolidation of the Churches. Peter and Paul saw times of persecution at hand, and also the imminent peril of false teachers rising up from within, and of a great falling away.

Thus, we find in the Epistle to the Philippians, that Paul, who at the opening addresses the community with the overseers and deacons, afterwards speaks of some one, not named, as a true yoke-fellow, and gives him a charge. It was he who received the Epistle, and was to communicate or read it to the rest, and he is the only person in all Paul's Epistles to whom this honourable title is given. He elsewhere calls those who worked with and under him, "fellow-labourers," "fellow-soldiers," "fellow-servants." All this points to a man who had no equal there in his office,—to a bishop. So again with Archippus at Colosse; he is the only one there whom Paul exhorts to administer his office carefully. And, when writing to Philemon, in whose house the community, or a part of it, assembled, in order to reconcile him with his slave, Onesimus, he also addresses Archippus, "our fellow-soldier," though the Epistle contains no word relating to him, and is wholly occupied with the private relations of Philemon and Onesimus; which shows that the only ground for addressing Archippus, was his being the head of the Church there, who

as such was to join his intercession with Paul's for Onesimus.[1]

Timothy, then, was placed at Ephesus, in the Church the apostle of the Gentiles held dearest and most important, in a position which implied full possession of episcopal authority. He was the apostle's favourite; Paul not only calls him his true and beloved son, but his brother, he six times joins him with himself in the superscription of his Epistles, and says he has no other like-minded with him. He gives over to him the full apostolical authority he had used himself at Ephesus, as well over ministers as members of the Church; he was to rule and teach those confided to him, to arrange the solemnities of worship, not to allow women to teach in public. His office is to watch over the purity of the doctrine taught, and himself to appoint trustworthy men for preaching it, to ordain bishops and deacons, to judge the qualifications of men for Church offices, and not "lay hands suddenly on any man," which implies the further right of deposing the unworthy from the ministry. It is also his duty to provide that fitting submission and reverence he paid to the ministers of the Church, to exercise jurisdiction, to examine and decide not only about laymen but presbyters, and to impose proportionate punishments on offences. He is to denounce sinners publicly, that others may fear, and to show strict impartiality. The man clothed with such ample authority is yet so young, that care must be taken that his youth be

[1] Phil. iv. 3. σύζυγε γνήσιε. Rom. xvi. 3, 9, 21. Phil. ii. 25; iv. 3. Col. i. 7; iv. 17. Philem. 1, 2.

not despised. He is to admonish presbyters as fathers, to judge those who are themselves rulers, and lastly—which shows how little Paul thought of a merely transitory office—he is to keep the apostle's commandment unspotted and blameless till the return of Christ; that is, he and his successors in the episcopate. Tradition accordingly makes him the first bishop of Ephesus, those who followed are called his successors, and at the Council of Chalcedon twenty-seven bishops of Ephesus from him were counted up. He has been also regarded as an apostolic delegate, one of a special class of ecclesiastical officers, but that does not prevent his being a bishop. The authority Paul gave him, unless it had a defined and permanent character, within a certain sphere would have expired with the apostle's death. The needs of the Church would have been ill supplied with mere delegates of dead men, and that too at a transition period from apostolic to post-apostolic times, when it needed a firm authority, and a universally recognized ministry of superior teachers and pastors, to maintain and hold together its communities against the violent and pertinacious assaults of heretical disorder. Such delegates would have been everywhere resisted and told their authority was only temporary, and expired with its source; that they were not, like the apostles, immediately called by the Lord, or witnesses of His death and resurrection. Paul knew well when he wrote for the last time to Timothy, "make full use of thy power," that he was himself near death, and that Timothy hence-

forth must stand by himself, without the great support he had hitherto enjoyed.[1]

Timothy, then, was bishop of Ephesus, though not in such sense bound to that city and community as to be incapacitated from giving apostolical assistance in the neighbourhood also. Paul, left almost alone, summoned him to Rome, and promised to send him to Philippi on his return to Asia. He seems once to have been sent to Judæa. It was a consequence of this transition period that apostolic legates became bishops, and bishops on occasion became legates again, as later also bishops often travelled on affairs of the Church.[2] And the powers and charge Paul gave his disciple extended over all pro-consular Asia, though Ephesus continued to be his peculiar seat. Nor is it in itself conceivable that such men as Timothy and Titus, notwithstanding their frequent journeyings, should not have had some city and community which they regarded as their home, and where they spent at least the later years of their life in quieter work on the spot. Thus tradition makes Titus at least latterly bishop of Gortyna, though Paul gave him charge of all the communities in Crete. Hence we see why there are no precepts or intimations

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 17. 1 Thess. iii. 2. Rom. xvi. 21. Phil. ii. 20. 1 Tim. i. 3; iii. 1, 2; iv. 11; v. 17—21. 2 Tim. ii. 2; iv. 5, 6. Chrys. *Ep. ad Tim.* Photius Bibl. Cod. 254. Conc. Chalc. Labbé iv. 699.

[2] Heb. xiii. 23. Theodoret has inferred from 2 Tim. iv. 12 that Timothy was not then in Ephesus, but this does not follow, and the persons here saluted lived in Ephesus. Cf. 2 Tim. iv. 19. Acts xviii. 26.

in the apostolic Epistles about the Church being guided by the collegiate action of the presbytery. The silence is significant; for Paul and his colleagues could not avoid creating some system which should have the necessary conditions of permanence and stability after their own departure, whether monarchical, by devolving the apostolate on the episcopate, or presbyteral. This latter clearly Paul never thought of. He only once speaks of the laying on of hands of the presbytery; but it was he who ordained, and the presbyters only joined, as is still the custom.[1]

That Diotrephes, mentioned in the third Epistle of John, seems to have been in a position which must have been that of a bishop. In his domineering pride he forbids members of the Church to receive foreign brethren, and puts those who do so out of communion; he shows contempt for the apostle himself, and John saw that he must come there in person to unmask him.[2] In the Revelation of John the episcopate appears clearly and unmistakably. The Lord sends written messages to the presidents of the seven Asiatic Churches, who are called in prophetic language "angels" or messengers of God, as Malachi had before called them angels, ambassadors, or messengers of the Lord of hosts, and as the forerunner of Christ was also called. The name comes nearest that of an apostle, and is almost synonymous with it; those so called are messengers of God, who, as successors of the apostles, have to proclaim God's will to the people. Christ calls these

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 14. [2] 3 John 9, 10, φιλοπρωτεύων.

angels the seven stars in His right hand; their seven Churches are symbolized by seven candlesticks distinct from the stars. One of them, the angel of Thyatira, has a wife who claims to be a prophetess, and whose Heathenish and heretical errors and evil influence in the Church he suffers with culpable weakness.[1] The angels are always spoken of in the singular number, which is then first changed into the plural, when the communities are spoken of. It is said, for instance, to the angel of Pergamos, "Thou hast not denied my faith even in the days of Antipas, thy faithful martyr, who was slain among you." Thus the angel or bishop is always distinguished from the community. One message, after addressing its warnings to the bishop of Thyatira, turns to the community in the words, "But to you the rest in Thyatira, I say," that is, to those whom the false prophetess has not been able to seduce.[2] These angels are praised for the good found in their Churches, and made responsible for the abuses; they possess, therefore, authority to put them down. The angel of Philadelphia is promised that, although he has

[1] Mal. ii. 7. Matt. xi. 10. Apoc. i. 16, 20; ii. 1, 20, *τὴν γυναῖκά σου Ἰεζαβήλ*. The word *σου* is in the best and oldest MSS., the Syrian and older Latin version (in Cyprian, Primasius, "uxorem tuam"), and is, therefore, rightly received into the text by Meyer, Lachmann, Tischendorf and Buttmann. Only Düsterdiek rejects it, manifestly on grounds other than critical, for they are overwhelming in its favour.

[2] *ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς κ.τ.λ.* Apoc. ii. 24. The agreement of the best MSS. puts it beyond a doubt that this is the right reading. On the later version *καὶ λοιποῖς*, which gives the plural *ὑμῖν* for the angel, more than one Presbyterian house of cards has been built.

little power as yet, a portion of the unbelieving Jews shall kneel before him,—either for baptism or confirmation. Those in whose communities are Nicolaitans or Balaamites are sharply rebuked; they ought to have thrust those men out of the Church. These, then, are seven bearers of apostolical, now become episcopal, authority. John praises, blames and threatens them, not in his own name, but in the name of the Lord, who bids him write these letters. The Church of Ephesus which, when Paul took leave of it at Miletus, was under the guidance of several elders, and the superintendence of the apostle, is now under a successor of Timothy, who is praised for having proved and rejected the false apostles, and hating the deeds of the Nicolaitans.

The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians dates, like the Apocalypse, from the later years of the first century. Three deputies came with it from Rome to Corinth, to help in restoring the order and harmony there which had been thrown into confusion. Jealousy and pride had led to a shameful and godless division in that community so flourishing and well-ordered before, and so obedient to its rulers. For the sake of one or two persons they had rebelled against their "elders," and deposed some of them who were blameless in the discharge of their office. The lower rose against the higher, the young against the old. This quarrel had caused great sorrow to Christians, and given great scandal; even Jews and Heathen were watching it. The rulers against whom the uproar was directed are

twice called "elders," but this word is so little appropriated by Clement to any office, that he twice uses it in the sense of elderly, as opposed to younger laymen. The office he calls that of over-seeing (ἐπισκόπη), and gives as its principal function the sacerdotal one of offering gifts. Nor does he use the name of overseer more distinctly than that of presbyter. He says, that "the apostles preached in several countries and cities, and made of the first fruits of their converts, when proved in the Spirit, bishops and deacons for future believers." He makes no distinction, then, between the two names of presbyters and bishops, and he here means presbyters. He distinguishes from these the apostles and their successors, saying, "In prospect of contention arising about the office of ruling, the apostles appointed the afore-mentioned rulers, and ordained for the future, that after their death other tried men should hold their office of appointing such persons." He adds, "that it was a crime to deprive of their office those appointed by the apostles, or by other excellent men who succeeded them."[1]

Clement then distinguishes three degrees,—the apostolate as exercised by the apostles themselves, and by "approved men after their death," their successors, especially in the choice and ordination of ministers—the office of presbyter or overseer—and the diaconate. He quotes as a type and parallel the hierarchical organization of the Old Covenant. It seems that at Corinth there were differences about the time and order of divine

[1] Ep. Clem. Rom. 47, 45, 21, (ἡγούμενοι), 43, 57, 1, 3.

service, for Clement urges it as a divine precept that liturgical worship must be conducted at fixed times, fixed places, and by fixed persons. "They are blessed and pleasing to God who make their offerings at fixed times, for the high priest has his proper office, the priests their special place, the Levites their own ministries, the layman is bound by the precepts for laymen. Thus each of you in his own order offers to God his thanksgiving with a good conscience, not overstepping the fixed limits of his ministry in the Church."[1] Then comes the mention of the three ecclesiastical degrees, apostles, overseers, ministers; the name of "layman" is one peculiar to Christianity, having no Hebrew equivalent. The quarrel in Corinth probably rose at the bishop's death, and had reference to the appointment of a successor. This may be inferred from the statement that only two or three persons gave occasion for it, and that the motive was envy and jealousy, as also from the advice that he who had caused it had better remove to some other place.[2] This, too, explains why Clement always speaks of "leaders" or "presbyters." He knew of no bishop in Corinth, because the chair was vacant, but he recognised three degrees, which he calls, after his manner of identifying Jewish and Christian ordinances, those of high priest, priest, and Levite. If the words "presbyter" and "overseer," some years later in Ignatius' Epistles, show their fixed sense as indicating two

[1] εὐχαριστείτω, referring to the Eucharist as the chief act and centre of worship.

[2] Ib. c. 54.

distinct offices, it is in accordance with the natural process of development that the thing should come before the name. There are, therefore, no fixed names of offices in the New Testament. Apostles, like Peter and John, call themselves presbyters; Paul calls them deacons; the same persons are called presbyters and overseers. Paul calls Andronicus and Junia (of whom nothing further is known) "distinguished among the apostles," and Epaphroditus "apostle" of the Philippians, and speaks of brethren who help him as "apostles of Churches, a glory of Christ."[1]

If we turn to particular Churches to collect the few reliable notices about Church-officers of the apostolic age, the first to be mentioned is the Roman Church. That Peter worked in Rome is a fact so abundantly proved and so deeply imbedded in the earliest Christian history, that whoever treats it as a legend ought in consistency to treat the whole of the earliest Church history as legendary, or, at least, quite uncertain. A few important circumstances may be mentioned here in addition to what has been said in a previous chapter. His presence in Corinth is obviously connected with his journey to Rome, and no one will accept the one and deny the other. The Corinthian parties which roused Paul's indignation assume that Peter no less than Paul and Apollos have been at Corinth. "Every man says, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas;" and, again, "All is yours, whether it be Paul or Apollos or Cephas."

[1] 1 Pet. v. 1. 2 John 1. 1 Cor. iii. 5. 2 Cor. viii. 23. Rom. xvi. 7. Phil. ii. 25.

There is no hint in the Epistle that only disciples or adherents of Peter had preached at Corinth in his name and raised a party for him there. In the Second Epistle, where Paul defends his apostolic authority against Judaizing opponents, there is no syllable hinting that Peter had sent these opponents or that they were his disciples.[1] Whence came the party of Cephas if he had never been in Corinth himself? If we refer to his disciple, Clement, he says in his letter to the Corinthians;—"Paul has written to you of himself, of Cephas and of Apollos; for you make parties for those apostles who minister with a good testimony, and for the men accredited by them." Clement knows only of personal parties occasioned by the three men themselves, and Apollos was accredited not only by Paul but by Peter also, not in Judæa, whither he did not go, but in Corinth.[2] Thence the contrast drawn by Clement, "But now only see who they be that have converted you;" then it was two apostles and men accredited by them, now it is nameless men who have nothing in common with apostles. Dionysius of Corinth, then, had good right six years later to maintain that Peter had been there.

Clement, again, reminds the Corinthians of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, and of the many who had

[1] 1 Cor. i. 12; iii. 22; 2 Cor. xi. 22, 23. The only thing mentioned in this last passage is their boasting of their Jewish descent and their character as ministers of Christ.

[2] *παρεκλίθητε γὰρ ἀποστόλοις μεμαρτυρημένοις καὶ ἀνδρὶ δεδοκιμασμένῳ παρ αὐτοῖς.* Clem. *Ep.* 47.

suffered with them, without any indication of place, unless it lies in the words "among us," meaning Rome. But the very mention implies that Peter's martyrdom was a well-known fact, and it is inconceivable that his execution only should have been known without the place, or that the place can have been forgotten and a wrong one substituted so soon after. And when Ignatius writes to the Romans some years later; "I do not command you like Peter and Paul; they were apostles, and I am a condemned criminal,"—it is clear, without any explanation, that he desires to remind them of the two men who as founders and teachers had been the glory of their Church.[1]

The Ebionite document, called *The Preaching of Peter*, must have originated about the time of Ignatius or very soon after, for in Hadrian's time it had been used by Heracleon.[2] It brings Peter and Paul together at Rome and divides their discourses and utterances at Rome between the two. Origen thinks there is an admixture of genuine and spurious matter in this document, while Clement of Alexandria quotes it often without ever expressing any doubt about it. The composition is understood to be founded on the well-known fact of Peter's operations at Rome. But it is inconceivable that such a writing, claiming acceptance in the Church as a genuine product of the apostolic age, should have put forward a groundless fable about the theatre of Peter's operations at a time when many who

[1] Ignat. *Ep. ad Rom.* 4.

[2] Orig. *Com. in Joann.* xiii. 17. *Opp* iv. 226.

had seen him must have been still alive. Irenæus and Eusebius had the writings of Papias and Hegesippus before them, and these authors had certainly not been silent about Peter or contradicted the common view, for in that case neither would Eusebius have failed to record it, nor Irenæus have appealed so confidently, against the numerous heretics in Rome itself, to a fact by denying which those Gnostics could have shaken his whole argument. Moreover, the words of Eusebius show that Papias must have expressly maintained with Clement that Peter wrote his Epistle at Rome.[1]

In reference to the first Roman Bishops, the consentient statements of the Greeks, Irenæus, Eusebius and Epiphanius, are infinitely more trustworthy than the Latin accounts of Optatus, Augustine and the Roman catalogues of Popes. Among these, the list drawn up under Liberius from the death of Christ till his own time (352—369) is the oldest, and the source of the later ones; the second part is the most valuable and is derived from the most genuine sources, the first part, up to A.D. 230, has important errors, and the contemporary consulates and Emperors are given in a random and very incorrect way; from this record all later Roman lists and accounts are copied.[2] The next

[1] Euseb. ii. 15 ἣν (ἐπιστόλην) καὶ συντάξαι φάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥωμῆς. The φάσιν refers to Clement and Papias.

[2] See Mommsen on the chroniclers of the year 354 in *Abhandl. der Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* ii. 583. The chief error of the first part is putting Anicetus before Pius. From this list comes the much criticised statement of the twenty-five years duration of Peter's episcopate. This does not mean that he was bishop *at Rome* twenty-five years, as it

oldest document is the earlier Recension of the so-called Pontifical Books closing, under Justinian, with Pope Felix, A.D. 530.[1] Other records of the fifth and sixth centuries and further down have no weight. The authority used by Optatus and Augustine is either the Liberian list or one based on it.[2] On the contrary, the statements of Hegesippus and Irenæus, who had both stayed in Rome, and those of Eusebius are of the most reliable kind. Hegesippus, a Christian Jew of Palestine, having journeyed as far as Rome stayed there till A.D. 156, in order to ascertain the state of doctrine in the separate Churches, and to examine the apostolic succession in the principal Churches. He says that in

was afterwards misunderstood, but that from Christ's ascension to his death was twenty-five years, during which he held his episcopate, that is his dignity in the Church. The words are, Post ascensum Ejus Petrus episcopatum suscepit. And thus the consuls are given from the year 30 to 55. The omission of consulates after Liberius in later Recensions of the *Liber Pontificalis* shows that they are taken from this document.

[1] Schelstrate *Antiq. Eccl.* T. i. p. 401 sqq.

[2] Before, however, the blunder of making Cletus and Anacletus into two Popes came in. The false position of Anicetus before Pius is there also. Victorinus, author of the poem against Marcion found in Tertullian, forms, in a measure, an independent source. Oehler has pointed out that Victorinus, a rhetorician at Marseilles in 425, was the composer. He gives a list of Roman bishops up to Marcion's time, and agrees with the Liberian list as to a Cletus *or* Anacletus, whom, however, he places before Clement, as also in observing that Hermas, author of the *Shepherd*, was a brother of Pius, whom he rightly places before Anicetus. There are, then, three different Western Recensions of the Roman succession, the Roman in the Liberian list, the African of Optatus and Augustine, and the Gallican of Victorinus. The Canon of the Roman Mass retains the original order of the Greek diptychs, Lini, Cleti, Clementis.

Rome he wrote down the list of the bishops up to Anicetus.[1] Here we perceive the authorities used by Eusebius as to the oldest Roman bishops and the duration of their episcopate; he did not go to Irenæus, who gives no dates, but who was enabled, from being in Rome twenty-five years after Hegesippus, to learn equally well on the best authority the succession of eleven or twelve bishops. If we consider that Hegesippus, when he came to Rome, only required for his purpose to investigate the succession of bishops there for the short period of about eighty-three years, that he certainly found persons there whose fathers could remember the beginning of that period, and that, except the short and not severe persecution under Domitian, the Roman Church had suffered no special disturbances, we must place the fullest reliance on his statements—the more so as they are confirmed by a man who used the same authorities and whose teacher had heard the apostle John.

We have, then, for the succession of the first Roman bishops two independent and accordant witnesses,

[1] διαδοχὴν ἐποιήσαμεν μέχρις Ἀνικήτου Euseb. iv. 22. Soon after he uses of the succession of Soter and Eleutherius the word διαδέχεται, and adds, ἐν ἑκάστῃ δὲ διαδοχῇ καὶ ἑκάστῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ νόμος κηρύσσει καὶ οἱ προφῆται καὶ ὁ κύριος. There can be no doubt, then, that διαδοχὴ means episcopal succession. The conjecture διατριβὴ, which Savile introduces in the margin of his work, and Stroth has taken without further comment into the text, comes from no MSS., and is quite worthless. See note in Routh's *Rel. Sacræ.* i. 245. The context of Hegesippus shows that he did not mean in the words cited, to say, qu'il mit par écrit la doctrine que suivait alors l'Eglise Romaine, as Tillemont supposes (Mem. Eccl. iii. 611,) though it was his aim certainly to examine the condition of doctrine in the particular Churches.

Hegesippus and Irenæus. The latter certainly did not know Hegesippus' book, or he would have appealed to it against the heretics. Both of them, and the Roman catalogues, make Linus the first bishop after the apostles, —probably the same member of the Roman Church whom Paul names with Eubulus, Pudens and Claudia, as greeting Timothy.[1] Irenæus says: "After Peter and Paul had founded the Roman Church, and set it in order, they gave over the Episcopate of it to Linus."[2] This makes the regulation of the Roman Church and appointment of Linus a common act of both apostles, and since then the Roman bishops have been frequently regarded as successors of both. The Roman Church was viewed as inheriting alike from Paul his prerogative of apostle of the Gentiles, and from Peter his dignity as the foundation of the Church, and as possessing the power of the keys. Eusebius says of Linus, that he was the first bishop after Peter, and of a later bishop, Alexander, that he formed the fifth link in the succession from Peter and Paul; and he almost always reckons the others "from the apostles," *i.e.*, Peter and Paul. Epiphanius calls Peter and Paul the first bishops of Rome, which rests, indeed, on a peculiar notion of his to be mentioned presently. The Roman Church is the seat of the two apostles, the power of Rome founded

[1] 2 Tim. iv. 21.

[2] Euseb. iii. 4; iv. 1. *Panar. Hær.* 27, 6, οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοὶ καὶ ἐπίσκοποι. The Council of Arles in 314 says, in quibus (partibus, *i.e.*, Rome) apostoli quotidie sedent. *Ep. ad Silv.* Cf. Theodoret, *Ep.* 113 *ad Leonem.* Paulin. *Natal* 3.

on Peter and Paul; these and similar expressions are frequent later.[1]

Anencletus succeeded Linus; both, according to Eusebius, were bishops for about twelve years, so that Clement, the third, entered on his office A.D. 79 or 80. The change of the name Anencletus into Cletus, and then Anacletus, has led to one bishop being divided into two, of whom one is placed before Clement, and the other (Anacletus) after him. That the Greek records which give but one Anencletus, and place him before Clement, are the only correct ones, is now acknowledged even in Rome.[2]

[1] Anacletus is no name I ever heard of. But Anencletus (meaning the same as Innocentius) is found as a man's name in a Spartan inscription. Boekh. *Corp. Inscr.* T. i. p. 116, n. 1240. The Greeks always have Anencletus. In Photius, *Cod.* 113, p. 90, Bekker, the name stands Anacletus, but the *Cod. Marc.* has the right form, Anencletus, as Dindorf observes (*Thes. Gr.*). The name Cletus is equally unknown, and is clearly a corruption of Anencletus, which sounded strange to Latin ears. Many things have conspired to produce an appearance of error and uncertainty in the succession of the first Roman bishops. First, there is this corruption of the second name; then, the influence of the Ebionite *Recognitions*, translated by Rufinus; Clement's Letter to James from the same source; and the *Apostolical Constitutions*. The letter to James, which records the solemn appointment of Clement by Peter, was generally followed, and its chief passages copied into the Roman Pontifical; and so Linus and Cletus were said to have been only Peter's assistants during life, as Rufinus had already conjectured. Then, again, Cyprian says of Hyginus, "qui in urbe nonus fuit," and it was not observed that he reckoned Peter as first bishop, and so Anencletus was doubled to make eight predecessors.

[2] See Lazari *Catal. duo Antiq. Pont. Rom.* Romæ 1755, p. 31, where Cletus or Anacletus is supposed to have been Pope twice, both before and after Clement. On the other hand, see Delsignore *Inst. Hist. Eccl. Rom.* 1837, T. i. p. 38, Saccarelli *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 212. Yet in the

Whether, as Origen and Eusebius thought, Clement is the same person praised by Paul in the Epistle to the Philippians, is very doubtful. It seems more likely that Paul's disciple belonged to the Philippian Church. Anyhow the Roman bishop, as Irenæus remarks, had seen the holy apostles, and associated with them. He is the author of that famous Epistle to the Corinthians, which Eusebius says "was read of old in most congregations."[1] Clement displays in this writing a mind fostered and moulded by the reading of the Old Testament. He scarcely ever quotes the New Testament, and for every reference to a word of the apostles' one finds ten citations from the Pentateuch, the Psalms, or the Prophets. He lives and moves in the Old Hebrew history; most of his examples come from it. He talks of "our father Abraham," whence many have supposed him to be a born Israelite.[2] He was not, but he certainly speaks as if he was. He sees but one Church since Abraham, the Church of the promise is become by a natural and necessary transition the Church of the fulfilment. All that was before Christ in a sense continues, and belongs to the present Church. Jewish priests and Christian presbyters are the same institution, and both have a sacrifice to offer. In short,

Benedictine *Origines de l'Eglise Rom.* (Paris, 1836), an unsuccessful attempt is made to keep Anencletus and Cletus. What makes the thing more certain is, that the Roman author of the "Little Labyrinth" (Hippolytus) knows nothing of the double Anacletus, for he reckons Victor t irteenth after Peter, Eus. v. 24.

[1] Eus. iii. 15.

[2] Clem *Ep. ad Cor.* 31.

Clement is the most characteristic representative of Church continuity. His leading idea is: "We Christians are the true Israelites, sons of Abraham, and heirs of the promises; Abraham and Jacob, Moses and David, belong to us alone.

No New Testament or subsequent writer displays so marked a preference as Clement for the Jewish and Old Testament habit of thought, however devoted to Christ and His redeeming work. In this respect his Epistle is in striking contrast to those of Ignatius and Polycarp, which are thoroughly saturated and ruled by New Testament ideas, phrases and reminiscences. Clement, therefore, was the right man for the Ebionite or Gnostic Judaizing party to choose (after James) for their hero and founder, under whose name they might try to gain entrance and authority for their writings. A man who had known both apostles, and was a successor of Peter in the imperial capital, whose letter was read with reverence in so many Churches, and gave evidence of such a Jewish turn of mind, was fitter than any one else of the apostolic age for being represented as the connecting link between Peter and the Ebionite communities. It naturally follows that his person and history would be much coloured by fiction. Thus, in the Clementines, an Ebionite production of the second century, where Christianity is exhibited as a purified Mosaism, he is the principal personage after Peter, and his family history forms the basis of this didactic romance. In the Clementine *Epitome*, the reason why he was so dear to the Jews is thus given, not without a

certain element of truth,—he had spoken of their forefathers as friends of God, their law as holy, divine and imperishable, had declared that Palestine was their abiding inheritance, and that if they kept the law their nation should never be trodden out of the land.[1] The Ebionite view of Clement re-appears later in the *Teaching of the Apostles*, which formed the substratum of the so-called *Apostolical Constitutions*, as they are known to us. This also was a document of Ebionite origin. Here, too, as in the preface to the Homilies, which he is said to have addressed to James, Clement is the bishop appointed by Peter himself, and the brothers ascribed to him in the Homilies, Nicetas and Aquila, are made bishops of districts, not named, in Asia.[2]

Another Ebionite document was the *Preaching of Peter*, mentioned above, which records the last discourses of the apostle at Rome, and his intercourse with Paul.[3] The appointment of Clement by Peter.

[1] This must have been written before 136 A.D., or borrowed from a writing of that date, for the war under Hadrian was so far a war of extermination ὥστε πᾶσαν ὀλίγου δεῖν Ἰουδαίαν ἐρημωθῆναι, Dio. Cass. 69, 14.

[2] *Const. Apost.* vii. 46. Besides the traces and proofs of Ebionite thought in the Constitutions pointed out by Rothe (*Anfänge der Kirche*, pp. 541 sqq.) there are others. Thus, (I. 1, c. 6) when the Christian is advised to read the Mosaic law, he is warned to beware of later interpolations (τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπεισάκτων). On this Ebionite view of the Pentateuch being interpolated cf. *Clem. Hom.* ii. 38; iii. 4, 5, 47.

[3] The title Ebionite is here taken in a wider sense than only to include those so-called by Epiphanius, or represented in the Clementines. That, notwithstanding what Paul is made to say against the Jewish feasts, the *Preaching* represents Jewish views, is clear from its agree-

must have been found chronicled here, and hence came the parallel statements of the Clementines, the Recognitions, the Epistle of Clement to James and the Constitutions. The fact of the *last* discourses and ordinances of Peter being recorded in this document proves that it must have contained an account of the management of the Roman Church after him also.[1] A Latin translation of this *Preaching of Peter* gained currency early in the West; Lactantius appeals to it, and in an old writing about baptism it is pointed out as the authority for an heretical form of baptism.[2] The statement of Tertullian, that Clement was ordained by Peter, is derived either directly or indirectly from this document; and some later Latin writers say the same. But it was obviously requisite from the Ebionite point of view that Clement should be regarded as Peter's heir and successor, appointed by him, and that in consequence Linus and Cletus should be ignored.[3]

The fable, again, of Simon Magus being cast down at the apostle's prayer when flying through the air, is

ment with the Hebrew Gospel, and its ascribing to Christ a confession of sinfulness. See Jones, *Method of Settling the Canon*. Oxf. 1827, I. 313—315.

[1] *Inst.* iv. 21.

[2] In the Bremer edition of Cyprian, p. 22, Append.

[3] Tert. *Præscr.* 34. Jerome, who is himself uncertain, and sometimes places Clement after Anacletus, sometimes directly after Peter, but in his catalogue of ecclesiastical writers pronounces decisively in the latter sense, says that most Latins held him for successor of Peter. *De Vir. Ill.* 14. This is certainly an exaggeration, for Tertullian is the only extant Latin writer who says so, and Jerome knew very few who are now lost, viz., Rheticius, Donatus, Severus, and some lost writings of Novatian and Victorinus.

another derived from the Petrine apocryphal writings, which were all composed in the Ebionite interest, probably from the *Judgment of Peter*, which got its title from this legend. It was so far founded on fact, that Simon was really in Rome and Peter met him there; and then the account given by Suetonius of an unlucky attempt made in Nero's presence was made to refer to Simon. So the story got into the *Teaching of the Apostles*, and, in the West, Arnobius was the first to adopt it, 303 A.D.[1]

This is the place to mention a theory of Epiphanius which has been thought to explain much in the oldest Church history, and to settle the contradictions about the early Roman succession. He says that the Alexandrian Church never had two bishops together, "like other cities."[2] Hence it has been inferred, that at first the

[1] The *Judicium Petri* is mentioned by Jerome (*De Vir. Ill.* in Petro) and Rufinus (*Expos. in Symb. Ap.* 48). Hippol. *Ref. Hær.* vi. 19, mentions Simon being at Rome, but describes a wholly different kind of death elsewhere. Arnobius' book shows clearly that he got many ideas from apocryphal and Gnostic sources, widely different from the teaching of the Church. Cotelier perceived that the story, given in *Const. Apost.* vi. 9, is derived from apocryphal and unreliable sources. *Pat. Ap.* i. 341. Even at Rome the fable seems to have gained no entrance notwithstanding so many authorities. Cotelier tells of the silentium Rom. Pontificum, qui sua tacere non solent, and the *Liber. Pontif.* only says, dum diutius altercarentur Simon divino nutu interemptus est. Ed. Vignol. i. 7. And this even is a later addition from Augustine's treatise *De Hær.*, and he says himself that most Romans thought the event fabulous. *Epist.* 36 *ad Casul.* I think he means not only the derivation of the Saturday fast from Peter's then fasting, but the whole story.

[2] *Panar. Hær.* 68. 7.

still unreconciled difference between Jewish and Gentile converts obliged the apostles to appoint two bishops in every city, a Hebrew and a Greek, for the two congregations. Thence came the further notion that Linus was appointed by Paul for the Roman Gentiles, Cletus by Peter for the Roman Jews, but that the Petrine bishop survived his colleague, and from 71 to 77 A.D. was sole bishop of Rome, whom Clement succeeded from 78 to 86.[1] There is no older authority for this notion. Epiphanius himself has not applied his notion of a double episcopate in the same city to the Roman Church, undoubtedly because he attached great authority to the fixed and consentient lists of Irenæus and Eusebius. But as he believed the *Teaching* to be genuine, which makes Clement ordained by Peter, he tried to explain matters by what he himself designates a mere conjecture,—that Clement, after his ordination by Peter, laid aside the episcopal office and kept quiet during the life of Linus and Cletus (Anacletus), but, after the death of Cletus, was compelled to undertake the direction of the Roman Church. Of a contemporary episcopate of Linus and Cletus Epiphanius knows nothing; he makes Cletus follow Linus.[2] But Rufinus tries to save the credit of the Epistle to James on the suppo-

[1] This is Bunsen's theory, as his friend Greenwood says, in his *Cathedra Petri* i. 53, London 1856, observing that he will give further grounds for it in a future work, *Chronological Tables of Ecclesiastical History*.

[2] Epiph. *Hær.* 27. He thinks the words in Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, advising the withdrawal of the person who had given occasion to the complication, refer to Clement himself, a misconception that rests only on want of memory.

sition, often adopted afterwards, that Linus and Cletus only presided over the Roman Church during Peter's life.[1] As far as we see, he only got his notion of Clement being appointed by Peter from this Ebionite document.

The statement of Epiphanius about two bishops at that period stands quite alone; there is no hint or trace elsewhere of one Church having really had two bishops. But we can point to the authority from which the uncritical and credulous Epiphanius got his view; it is the *Teaching of the Apostles*. He was the first to treat the *Constitutions* as a genuine work of the apostles, "a divine discourse," and he often uses it. What is there said about the first bishops appointed by the apostles had accordingly full authority for him, and he found there that Peter appointed Evodius, and Paul Ignatius, in Antioch; that at Ephesus Paul appointed Timothy, John appointed John; whereas of Alexandria it is said that the first ordained by Mark was Annianus, and that Abilius, ordained by Luke, succeeded him. Therefore, Epiphanius says, Alexandria had not two bishops like other cities. The element of truth in his view has been already noticed, that just at first a single bishop distinct from the apostles was impracticable in many Churches.[2]

[1] *Præf. ad Recogn.* Coteler. i. 492.

[2] *Apost. Const.* vii. 46. Epiphanius calls them once θεῖος λόγος. He not only recognised the six first books but the seventh, which is commonly held to have a later origin. For, in appealing to the διάταξις τῶν ἀποστόλων about fasting (*Hær.* 75. 6.) he had Const.

Hegesippus found everywhere in the Church, so far as his researches or his travels led him, the same constitution, doctrine and succession. He certainly visited Antioch on his way westwards from Palestine, for Evodius its first bishop is mentioned, whom Ignatius succeeded. Eusebius has an important statement, probably derived from Hegesippus, about the filling up of the See of Jerusalem after the death of James. After the conquest of Jerusalem, the surviving apostles and disciples and the relations of Christ assembled and unanimously chose as bishop Simon, son of Clopas, the Lord's cousin. The apostles then living were John, Philip and Andrew, who came from Asia Minor to this meeting, A.D. 71. That Polycarp was made bishop of Smyrna by the apostles, immediately by John, is testified by his disciple Irenæus. Polycrates, of Ephesus, who was thirty-eight years old when Polycarp died (167 A.D.), relates that he was the eighth bishop in his family, and appeals to the tradition of his relatives and predecessors, which carries back the episcopal succession in one family to apostolic times. In the Epistles of Ignatius, written a few years after the death of John, all the Asiatic Churches appear provided with bishops. And this is confirmed by Clement of Alexandria, the best acquainted with Christian literature of any one up to his time, who says:—"When John went from Patmos to Ephesus, his custom was to visit the neighbouring

vii. 23 before his eyes. In the succession of Roman bishops he has included Cletus, whom the Constitutions omit, undoubtedly influenced by the testimony of Hegesippus and Irenæus.

Gentile regions, partly to appoint bishops, partly to regulate whole communities, partly to ordain any one marked out by the Spirit." Here we meet with the noteworthy fact, mentioned by Clement of Rome, that, as was the case with Paul and Timothy, ordination to any function in the Church followed on a prophetic illumination, either vouchsafed to an apostle or to other members of the Church.[1]

Paul ordered that women should not speak publicly in the Church; they were to obey their husbands, to learn and not to teach. Yet spiritual gifts were bestowed on the female sex, as the four daughters of Philip had the gift of prophecy.[2] And in Corinth, the custom had grown up that women under the influence of the gift of tongues and prophecy, should pray and prophesy aloud in the assemblies. Meanwhile the apostles knew how to find a sphere of work for women in Church life. The institution of Deaconesses was created; and Phœbe a deaconess at Cenchrea is mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans. It was the business of these women devoted to the ministry of the Church to take care of the poor, the sick, and strangers. There is further information about them in the first Epistle to Timothy. Paul first speaks of the provision to be made for helpless and neglected widows, but proceeds thereupon to refer to a peculiar kind of widows, who had a special

[1] Euseb. iii. 22, 36. 11. Iren. iii. 3. Routh. i. 371. Clem. Ep. 42.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 34. Acts xxi. 9.

relation to the Church. Their names were to be marked in a catalogue, and they were to have a special ministry assigned to them. The requisite conditions were, that the widow should be over sixty years old, that she should have had one husband, should have the testimony of good works, should have brought up children, have been hospitable, and have given aid and consolation to the afflicted and sorrowful.[1] The duties of a deaconess were accordingly such as aged women could best discharge, not requiring severe bodily exertion. Preparing women for baptism, and assisting them in it so as to avoid any scandal, bringing up orphans, discharging apostolical and episcopal commissions towards individual female members of the community,—these duties and the like belonged to them. In short, they supplied to the great family, or local Church, the wifely and motherly element.

It was self-evident that widows over sixty years of age would not marry again, nor was any promise required of them. But there were younger widows and virgins who became deaconesses. The latter must, even in the apostolic age, have been chosen by preference in some communities; for Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Smyrnians, salutes the virgins who were named "widows."[2] This shows that widow had become an official title of

[1] 1 Tim. v. 9, 10. Paul could not mean that all widows under sixty were to be excluded from charitable support, and he must therefore refer to a special class of widows.

[2] Ignat. *Ep. ad Smyrn.* 12, p. 196. Dressel.

deaconesses, but that most of them, at least in Smyrna, were not really widows but virgins. There had been evil experience of younger widows in Ephesus, or other Pauline communities. They had, like the virgins, taken a vow to serve the Lord unmarried, and, according to the apostle's example, to persevere night and day in prayer, and in Church works of mercy. But many of them waxed wanton, made use of their position in houses for tattling, desired to marry, and broke their vow, which gave to the adversaries of Christians occasion for mockery.[1] Therefore, the apostle wished younger widows to marry again, and only aged ones to be made deaconesses. But since many diaconal functions required younger and stronger persons, there was the more readiness in many Churches to take virgins, who would not be led like young widows, by their former experience of the married state, to break their promise made to God and the Church.

Paul mentions in his Epistles to Timothy and Titus the qualifications required for the office of an elder.[2] He lays more weight on moral character than on intellectual eminence. A new convert was not to be taken, for he was likely to become proud, if preferred to older and more tried members of the community; an arrangement which could be carried out at Ephesus, but not everywhere, not in recently planted Churches. He only is fit, Paul adds, who has proved himself a good master of a house and father of a family, for only he will be able

[1] 1 Tim. v. 11—14. [2] 1 Tim. iii. 2—12. Tit. i. 6—9.

to maintain his authority in the Church. It had to be a rule at first for fathers of families to be chosen for Church offices, for among Jewish converts there were no unmarried men of ripe age; and if a Gentile remained single to man's full age, he had nearly always led a wild and dissolute life, and lacked what the apostle made an important qualification, a good report from those without. Sobriety and chastity, a seemly external conduct and deportment, and the exercise of hospitality, are equally indispensable qualifications. Hospitality was then the more highly esteemed, because Christianity was in some sense a migratory religion; and both missions and persecutions imposed on Christians the duty of keeping open house for brethren coming and going.

Only two intellectual qualifications were made essential, first that the elder be capable of teaching—that is, he must possess a certain degree of culture, and the natural gift of clear and regular enunciation—secondly, that he should keep to the traditional sense of the Old Testament and the words of Christ—that is, preach the word of faith as deposited by the apostles in the Church, not his own subjective notions, and be able to withstand gainsayers. The capacity required by the apostle was a very limited one, as the then state of things rendered necessary. The number of well educated men must have been very small in the first communities. Attendance on the Synagogue service had given Jewish converts the requisite acquaintance with the Old Testament; accurate knowledge of apostolic teaching they of course had. The rhetoric then so highly prized, and the art of word-

painting and elegant periods, Paul had pointed out as one he declined to use and not one to be coveted, but the natural eloquence of persuasion, increased by miraculous power, was an inspiration honoured in the apostolic communities, wherever it appeared, as a most worthy gift, and Paul knew well that his gift of utterance was serviceable to the cause of Christ.[1] Yet at no time and in no nation has eloquence had so pure and lofty a mission as then, when Christian preaching entered into history as a divine institution and mighty instrument of human weal, when it had for its theme, inexhaustible and ever new, all the antitheses of human life, all the great problems of mind, all moral relations of man to man, life and death, heaven and hell, God and Satan. We may picture to ourselves the impression made on a Heathen when he first entered a Christian congregation, accustomed as he was to a dumb priesthood and a silent temple, and heard men speaking at once on the highest questions elsewhere only handled in the philosophical schools, and on the daily occurrences and duties of life, in the language of confidence, and out of the consciousness of a common conviction and experience.

Nothing is more prominent in the apostolic writings than the assurance that the shepherd is answerable for the sheep. Paul calls his communities his glory in the day of the Lord. There is a sacred bond of mutual love between shepherd and sheep. His sufferings are for their sake. And those who minister must serve the

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 4, 5. 2 Cor. v. 11; vi. 11.

Church by their sufferings as well as their acts. It is part of their priestly office to pray constantly for their people, apart from the Eucharistic sacrifice. Therefore, the twenty-four elders, who represent in heaven the earthly priesthood, have "golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the saints"—that is, the earthly members of the Church. And thus the spirit of self-sacrifice, the freedom from all self-seeking, is to be made an indispensable qualification by Titus in choosing ministers.[1]

These requirements, of which men like Timothy at Ephesus, Titus in Crete, and their successors, the bishops, were to be the final judges, show that congregations could only have a very restricted right in the choice of their officers, in entire subordination to the apostles or bishops. Paul assumes that, as a rule, those possessed of the necessary qualifications will desire the ministerial office. In fact, the apostles had sometimes to guard against too many wanting to become teachers, as James's warning indicates. The bishops were to delay ordaining and appointing candidates, as long as seemed necessary for a proper trial of them. When Paul says that one who desires the office of overseer desires an honourable work, he implies that the bishop should not only watch for those who offer themselves, but exhort those whose fitness he knows to do so. Then followed the part of the congregation; the bishop proposed to them the man he had already tried and found qualified, and they expressed their assent. So says Clement; "The apostles

[1] Phil. iv. 1. 1 Thess. ii. 19. 2 Cor. i. 14. Col. i. 24. Apoc. v. 8. Tit. i. 7.

appointed overseers and deacons, approved by the whole community." Of a competition between several candidates, decided by the majority of votes, there is no trace either then or afterwards, nor has such a custom ever prevailed in the Church. The incident at Jerusalem, where the apostles left to the Church, just formed and filled with the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, the choice of its first seven ministers, has scarcely ever been repeated. The Ephesian presbyters were called by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church; Timothy was ordained in consequence of a prophecy, not a popular election, and he is bidden to impart to other fit and faithful men what he has received from Paul, and is himself to choose them, not to leave it to the chances of a public election.[1] But still, it is certainly true that no elder or bishop was forced on a reluctant community. And Paul had made it a condition, that he should enjoy a good reputation.

The Lord Himself had ordained in the beginning that the members of the Church should support their ministers. He told His first disciples that they should want for nothing, for the labourer was worthy of his hire.[2] The accompanying admonition, to give freely what they had freely received, pointed to the right mean to be observed between making a professional and covetous use of the apostolic office, and, on the other hand, keeping silent as to the duty of the people to support

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 1; v. 22. James iii. 1. Clem. *Ep. ad Cor.* 44. Acts vi. 1—6. 2 Tim. ii. 2. The χειροτονεῖν of Acts xiv. 23 may apply equally well to ordination of men chosen by previous election, as of men chosen by the apostles.

[2] Matt. x. 10.

them. Paul expressly claimed for the messengers and ministers of Christ this right to live of the Gospel, to be supported by their congregations, just as the gardener, warrior, or shepherd—he names the three positions most like the clerical—live by their calling. He naturally preferred himself, in presence of his many adversaries, to avoid every appearance of gaining by his office, and so to live by the labour of his hands; and he even persisted in this, where, as at Corinth, it provoked contempt, in order to give Christians an example of the diligence in work he so stringently urged upon them.[1] But he at the same time insisted, that those who impart the greater blessings of teaching and ordinances of grace have a just claim to the lesser benefits of a livelihood. And thus he accepted the voluntary offerings of the Philippians, for there the suspicions, which elsewhere restrained him, could not be felt. When he tells Timothy that presbyters who rule well, especially such as labour in teaching and preaching, deserve double honour, it is clear from the following words that he means a richer income.[2]

We gather from the apostolic Epistles that Christians gave much and readily, though the number of poor was far greater among them than of the wealthy. Collections were frequently sent to the poor churches in Palestine, and Paul could incite particular churches by the example

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 7—11. 2 Thess. iii. 6 sqq.

[2] 1 Tim. v. 17. Cf. the citation in v. 18 of Deut. xxv. 4. The passage Gal. vi. 6 does not refer to worldly goods, for it would be too unmeasured a requirement. Paul means the moral and religious *κοινωνία* between teacher and disciple.

of others.[1] He ordered that on the first day of the week every Christian should lay aside in his house something from his earnings, first for the Mother Church of Jerusalem. In what form provision was made for the support of presbyters and other common needs, we do not know. But it is clear that everywhere there was a common fund, made up of free-will offerings.

[1] Acts xi. 29. Rom. xv. 26. 1 Cor. xvi. 1 sqq.

CHAPTER II.

SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

THE Gospel of Mark closes with an account of the signs, which Jesus promised His disciples should follow them that believe in Him. These are, casting out evil spirits, speaking with new tongues, protection against the bite of deadly serpents and poisonous drinks, and healing the sick.[1] And in fact, from the time of the first outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, a rich stream of these and the like gifts flowed through the young Church, partly indeed through the consecration to the service of the Church of natural powers in an exalted and highly cultivated form, but also partly through miraculous powers breaking through all natural limitations. Paul named them in writing to the Corinthians, but without intending to give a full enumeration of all spiritual gifts then in the Church; his object was to exhibit, amid all their diversity, their unity of origin and of scope. There were gifts of knowledge, of faith, of will, of speech; but all had this in common, that they were wrought by the same Spirit for the service of

[1] Mark xvi. 17, 18.

others, for the building up of the Church, for ministering to the body of Christ. Only as so used did they fulfil their proper end.[1] They formed together a treasure the Church possessed, according to the apostle,—a spiritual wealth, in which she recognised her strength, her ornament and her glory. He reminds the Corinthians of the contrast between their old dumb Heathenism, with its silent idols and voiceless temples, and the exuberant richness of utterances and communications in their assemblies now.

But these gifts and powers were of very unequal value, and Paul exhorted the Corinthians to strive for the highest and best. These were gifts one might keep or lose, use or leave unused, as one chose. To misuse many was easy enough, and every one was responsible for his use of his gifts to the Holy Ghost, who gave them. How Paul distinguished the gift of wisdom, which he claimed for himself also, from the gift of knowledge, must remain doubtful. The special gift of faith he mentions can only have consisted in the energetic power and heroic confidence of unlimited trust in God. The gift of discerning spirits enabled its possessor to discriminate true prophets from false, and judge whether what was announced came from God, or was an illusion.[2] Such a gift was indispensable to the Church at a time when false prophets abounded, forced their way into congregations, and increased every year in numbers and audacity. There were false

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 7; xiv. 12.

[2] 1 Cor. xii. xiii. xiv. iii. 10. 1 Thess. v. 19—21. 1 John iv. 1.

teachers, as John intimates, who preached their doctrine, not merely as the product of human inquiry or intuition, but as a revelation imparted to them from above.

Other gifts mentioned by the apostle are healing the sick, and power generally to perform extraordinary operations; the plural here used shows that some at least had this gift only for particular diseases and sufferings to which, doubtless, various means and methods were applied. Prophecy and teaching are distinguished as separate gifts, the former depending on revelation, the latter on knowledge. Paul recommended his readers earnestly to covet the gift of prophecy. The prophets stood higher than the teachers, and their gift was one peculiarly serviceable for the community. The prophet exhorting and consoling in clear, intelligible language spoke something designed for all; he understood the needs of his hearers, and brought to light what lay hidden in the heart. If he did not always know the full significance of his own utterances, others understood it all the better. But the spirits of the prophets were always to be subject to the prophets, for, as Paul says, God is not the author of confusion, but of peace.[1] The true prophets did not allow themselves to be torn to pieces by an involuntary inspiration; they never fell, like the Heathen theoleptics, into an ecstasy which drowned their consciousness, or a delirious enthusiasm, but retained entire freedom of thought and will, and when speaking in public could break off at

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 1, 32.

any moment. Many of them predicted future events, as Agabus foretold the famine at Jerusalem, and afterwards by a symbolic act the imprisonment of Paul; or they saw visions, and declared them, as John "was in the Spirit on the Lord's day" (in ecstasy), and heard a voice as of a trumpet, and saw a door opened in heaven, and beheld the new Jerusalem, with the river and tree of life. Even women received the prophetic gift, like the four daughters of Philip the Evangelist. There were prophetesses in Corinth, but Paul, who mentions this, forbade their exercising their gift in public.[1]

Paul estimated the gift of speaking in various tongues lower than that of prophecy, but wished that all the Corinthians possessed it, for it was wrought by the grace of the Holy Ghost, and was not without use for converting unbelievers; and he declares that he himself enjoyed it in larger degree than any one in Corinth.[2] But he combated the tendency of the Corinthians to overrate this gift, which they regarded as the highest and most precious manifestation of Divine influence, and which, from its frequent and persistent introduction into their public assemblies, served rather for confusion and disturbance than for edification and use, since no one understood what was said, unless the speaker or an interpreter explained it. Now in what did this speaking with tongues consist? It was not a speaking in strange and unwonted expressions, different from the pre-

[1] Acts xi. 28; xxi. 9—11. Apoc. i. 10; iv. 1, 2; xxi. 1, 2; xxii. 1, 2. 1 Cor. xi. 5; xiv. 34.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 5, 18.

valent usages of language, still less an utterance of low, scarcely audible, inarticulate tones and words, or a breaking out into mere ecstatic exclamations, or a noisy exultation and cry of ecstasy.[1] In such things, which were an ordinary result of Heathen and demoniacal inspiration, Paul would have recognised no gift, nor have desired that all should possess so sterile and ambiguous a power. Nor would any special gift of interpretation have been required. Nor, again, would the contrast drawn between prophecy and speaking with tongues—that the one primarily benefitted believers while the other was useful as a sign for unbelievers—be intelligible.[2] The speaking with tongues at Corinth was substantially the same phenomenon that appeared at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, in Cornelius and his family, and in the twelve disciples of John at Ephesus, a speaking in foreign languages, which were therefore unintelligible in assemblies where only one or two languages were known to those present. They were not newly-formed languages that were spoken at Cæsarea, Ephesus and Corinth, for that would contradict all analogy of similar phenomena later, and there must then have been as many different and instantaneously created languages, as there were persons to speak them.[3] It is more conceivable psychologically, that the

[1] Such are the various recent explanations of Baur, Schulz, Wieseler, Bleek, Meyer, &c.

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 22.

[3] That is the view of De Wette and Rosstaüscher (*Die Gabe der Sprachen.* Marburg, 1850). Those who lay great weight on the fact, that only γλώσσαις is said in Acts x. 46; xix. 6. 1 Cor. xii. 10,

human mind in the state of exaltation, implied in miraculous endowment, should intuitively and clearly master a foreign, but existing language, than that it should throw out, as it were, by a sudden creative act, one wholly new.[1]

without ἑτέραις being added, as at the first mention Acts ii. 4 (*e.g.* Meyer *Comm. zur. Apost. Gesch.* p. 210), forget that Paul, by quoting Isaiah in 1 Cor. xiv. 21, ἑτερογλώσσοις and ἑτέροις χείλεσιν, has expressly attested the identity of the two. Peter, and the Jews with him, evidently refer what took place in the family of Cornelius to the event of Pentecost. "They were amazed, because on the Gentiles also was poured the gift of the Holy Ghost, *for* they heard them speak with tongues and glorify God." (Acts x. 45, 46).

[1] In our own day things have occurred in a lower sphere, and without any miraculous endowment, but in a state of strong religious excitement, which serve partly to explain, partly to confirm, the phenomena of the apostolic age, viz., in the congregations formed by the Scotch preacher Irving, or through his teaching Robert Baxter relates how he was first violently seized in such an assembly, and adds, "At home a mighty power came upon me, but for some time no impulse to speak out; then a sentence in French came vividly before my mind, and I was constrained to utter it; soon after a Latin sentence was similarly spoken, and after a short interval sentences in many other languages, to judge from the sound, and the various action of the organs of speech. My wife, who was with me, said, some were Italian and Spanish; the first she can read and translate, of the last she knows very little. But she was in no condition to interpret or retain the words spoken." He adds, that he repeatedly experienced the most vehement impulse to speak, which overpowered him when they were inarticulate, dissonant sounds, but yielded to him when forming themselves into words or sentences, though he was ignorant to what language they belonged, except in the case of French and Latin. See *Narrative of Facts characterizing the supernatural Manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's Congregation and other Individuals in England and Scotland, and formerly in the writer himself.* By Robert Baxter, London, 1833, p. 133, 4. Here we see an unusual phenomenon but one completely within the range of natural operations,

But the whole condition of such a speaker was one of inspired ecstasy, whereby the discursive faculty was forcibly repressed. He poured himself forth in thanksgivings, hymns and prayers, but so that he could not freely choose his language but was constrained by an internal impulse to speak in a certain language otherwise strange to him. He had a conscious perception or a general idea of what he said, but often found it impossible or difficult to repeat it in ordinary language; and thus, while he could converse with God and edify himself, the congregation remained unmoved. For the unconverted, the phenomenon was a sign adapted to suggest further inquiry and so to lead to faith, but Christians needed no such crutch to lean upon, and, moreover, they were accustomed enough to the phenomenon. For such an out-pouring to be of any service to them, there must be a man with the gift of interpreting, who, without having learnt the language, understood what was spiritually uttered by a kindred supernatural intuition, so that he could draw matter

which the gift of the apostolic age came into, to exalt and ennoble it. The like has happened *e.g.* in magnetism. That the tongues spoken at Corinth were really foreign languages, is further proved by the continuance of the gift in the Church, for 120 years later Irenæus expressly describes it as παντοδαπαῖς διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις λαλεῖν, and as something still existing in his own day (ap. Eus. v. 7). [The reader need hardly be referred to Mrs. Oliphant's interesting Life of Irving for these and earlier alleged miraculous events in Scotland. Archdeacon Stopford described the hysterical utterances of the converts at Irish revivals some few years ago, as precisely like those he had heard at the earlier Irvingite meetings in London.—Tr.]

from it to edify and instruct. Therefore, Paul ordered those who had the gift of tongues to pray to God for the gift of interpretation, and if they had it not and no interpreter was present, to keep silence and converse inwardly with God. He had rather himself speak five words in the congregation in an intelligible manner than ten thousand in an unknown tongue, for if he came to them speaking in tongues he should not profit them.[1] Therefore, only two, or at most three in order were to speak with tongues in the assembly, that room might be given for the far more salutary prophecy.

It is only the Corinthian Church whose life of spiritual gifts Paul directly lays open to our gaze; but it follows from the very nature of the case that phenomena essentially identical must have occurred elsewhere also. If, in writing to the Ephesians, he prays for his readers only the two gifts of wisdom and prophecy, he presupposes the lesser gifts and mentions these two as the highest. He admonishes the Thessalonians "not to quench the Spirit," as though a flame, which means that they should give free utterance and scope in their assemblies for those spiritually gifted, and especially that they should esteem the gift of prophecy. To convince the Galatians of their error, he asks them whether the miraculous powers and gifts working among them came through works of the law or from the hearing of

[1] 1 Cor. xiv.

faith.[1] But this condition gradually passed away, or only survived in certain gifts and certain individuals. The silence about it in the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistles of John, suggests that already a change had taken place.

[1] Eph. i. 17. 1 Thess. v. 19, 20. Gal. iii. 5.

CHAPTER III.

ORDINANCES AND PUBLIC WORSHIP.

JOHN had first introduced the rite of immersion in the Jordan as a symbol of the repentance and renovation whereby the whole man must be purified. This was not borrowed from the Jewish custom of baptizing proselytes, which only came in after the fall of Jerusalem;[1] John was *sent* to baptize for repentance. Christ adopted the rite, but made the laver of repentance a "laver of regeneration," and exalted the act to a dignity and power beyond the baptism of John, which had nothing to confer. And, therefore, those who had received the baptism of John were re-baptized on their confessing Christ, as was done with those twelve disciples at Ephesus at Paul's bidding. Christ Himself, according to the old tradition, only baptised Peter, Peter baptised Andrew, Andrew James and John, and they the rest.[2]

[1] The oldest testimony for it is in the Gemara Babyl. Jobamoth. 46. 2. [Probably, however, it prevailed at least from the time of the Captivity, if not earlier. See Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 944 (art. "Proselytes"), and vol. iii., Appendix, p. lxxxvi, vii. (art. "Baptism").—TR.]

[2] Luke iii. 3. Tit. iii. 5. Acts xix. 1—7. Clem. Alex. Hypotyp. ed. Potter. p. 1016.

At first Christian baptism commonly took place in the Jordan; of course, as the Church spread more widely, also in private houses. Like that of John, it was by immersion of the whole person, which is the only meaning of the New Testament word. A mere pouring or sprinkling was never thought of. Paul made this immersion a symbol of burial with Christ, and the emerging a sign of resurrection with Him to a new life: baptism is a "bath." Of the Ethiopian's baptism it is said, that both he and Philip went down into the water and so the evangelist baptized him.[1]

There was no long preparation for baptism; only the universal condition of faith in the kingdom of God and its Founder was required. The apostles had no hesitation in admitting multitudes to baptism who knew very little of Christian doctrine, whose faith was but a very undeveloped sentiment, rather a desire than a fixed consciousness. The act of baptism took place by question and answer. The postulant was asked if he renounced Satan and gave himself to Christ? Thence Peter says that, as of old the believing and the unbelieving were separated by the flood, which to the

[1] In Luke xi. 38. Mark vii. 4., βαπτίζεσθαι means dipping or taking a bath, not washing the hands. In the first passage it alludes to the Pharisees' custom of cleansing themselves from any impurities possibly contracted, after returning from market. It is not said that the 3,000 converts of Pentecost were all baptized the same day, but only "on that day were added 3,000 souls," (Acts ii. 41), *i.e.*, their conversion and belief took place on that day; they were baptized on the following days, of course, gradually, and accordingly the fact of their baptism is mentioned without any time being assigned. Rom. vi. 4. Col. ii. 11, 12. Eph. v. 26. Tit. iii. 5. Acts viii. 38.

former brought salvation and was a seal of divine grace, so now is baptism not a cleansing of bodily filth but the answer of a good conscience toward God.[1]

There is no proof or hint in the New Testament that the apostles baptized infants or ordered them to be baptized. When the baptism of whole households is spoken of, it is left doubtful whether they contained little children, and whether, if so, these also were baptized.[2] What is certain is, that it is congruous to the spirit of Christianity and the meaning and nature of the act that children should partake of this means of grace. The very fact that Christ entered into human nature, not as a full grown man, but as a Child, and that in that Child slumbered the fulness of Divine powers, proves that He came as Redeemer of childhood under the ban of original sin, and that man is not called to spend a part of his life estranged from God and the healing influences of His Church, but to be brought immediately after birth into communion with the Triune God and made a member of the body of the Church. The apostles did not require of adults, as was said just now, as a condition of baptism, the full, conscious faith which implies entire self-devotion to Christ, but were satisfied with a mere confession that Jesus was the Messiah and a willingness to receive all the faith. By baptism the convert received aid for a deeper and more comprehensive faith, and, by entering the Church, he had the means of knowledge opened to him. Children, though

[1] 1 Pet. iii. 21.

[2] Acts xvi. 15, 30—33; xviii. 8. 1 Cor. i. 16.

unable to believe, are so much the fitter recipients of baptism, that by this means of grace the capacity and inclination for receiving Christ, from which faith grows, is first implanted in them, and they are to be thereby dedicated to future belief, and are to be trained and educated accordingly.

As the apostle said, children are already holy, if their fathers or mothers are Christians; that is, they are already distinguished from the mass of Heathen and Jews by the mere fact, which alone proclaims God's will, of having a Christian parent. They are already destined for sanctification and capable of it; from their earliest age the Christian profession and life of their family has a sanctifying effect on them; they grow up under the religious influence of a father's or mother's prayers and example: they have a right to Christian fellowship, for they are becoming Christians. The Lord confessed a peculiar predilection for children; He proposed them as patterns to the adult, whom he exhorted above all to become again as little children, that they might enter into His kingdom, to be child-like in their openness and docility, in their feeling of helplessness and confident leaning on the stronger, in putting away all prejudice, all self-righteousness and pride of knowledge. If on earth He laid His hand upon children and blessed them, He did not mean them to be excluded from that act which He ordained as the first and chiefest fountain of blessing in His Church. But, so far as we know, He left no command about it; it was one of those many things His Church was to learn in her gradual development through the

Paraclete whom He had given, and before the historian decides how the apostles acted in this matter he must take into consideration their entire silence about it, the absence of any command or counsel on the subject in their Epistles, where so much is said of the family life and relative duties of Christians, and the varying practice of the period immediately following. Still, there always remains the weighty testimony of Origen, the most learned of ancient theologians; "The Church received from the apostles the duty of baptizing children."[1]

Paul mentions one peculiar custom, that of vicarious baptism for the dead. He urges among arguments for the resurrection, that else those who are baptized for the dead would do something quite foolish and senseless. The practice must, therefore, have been a common one. Probably it was done for those who had shown an intention of being baptized, but had died without fulfilling it. A surviving relative would then be baptized for the dead, in order to give a public testimony to the Church that he had died a member of it in mind and desire, and so to obtain for him the prayers of the Church, which else were not offered for those who died unbaptized.[2]

On the day of His resurrection, Christ gave His

[1] *Comm. in. Rom.* v. 9. *Opp. Ed. Maur.* iv. 565. Cf. ii. 230; iii. 948.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 29. It is now pretty generally confessed that all attempts to explain this much controverted passage differently are violent and untenable. See Adalb. Maier's *Com. über d. ersten. Cor. Brief.* p. 318. Who now would accept Estius' interpretation of ὑπερ τῶν νεκρῶν, jam jam morituri? Tertullian implies that the rite lasted to his time by saying, "Si autem baptizantur quidam pro mortuis, videamus an ratione." *De Res. Carn.* 48.

apostles the judicial power of remitting and retaining sins, and for that end breathed on them, and gave them the gift of the Holy Ghost. This defined more explicitly the power of binding and loosing, which He had already promised them.[1] They were to bind, by depriving the impenitent sinner and false teacher of liberty to mislead and disturb the Church, by laying him under the ban of exclusion from communion, and from all ecclesiastical privileges. They were to loose, by restoring to the penitent what he had lost. They were to retain sins where faith and repentance were wanting, to forgive them where they found the conditions of forgiveness; and their sentence was to avail, not only before men, but before God, if they pronounced it according to truth and the Lord's command, not blinded by hypocrisy or deceived by passion. Christ conveyed this power by the same word, always used everywhere for the forgiveness of sin by God Himself, or for pardoning personal grievances. The forgiveness thus bestowed was to be

[1] John xx. 23. Matt. xviii. 18. Giving the keys of the kingdom, and giving power to bind and loose, are usually taken as synonymous figures, on the assumption that Hebrew doors were secured with bars, fastened by strings and thongs, and so the key was an instrument to loose or unbind these thongs. But this is a groundless conjecture, only derived from Homer's Odyssey. The O. T. gives a different view of key and locksmith. We read in Ecclus. xxii. 33: "Who shall put a lock upon my mouth?" and in Cant. v. 5, there is an allusion to the custom of anointing the lock and bars of the house and chamber door of the beloved, but there is no mention of tying with strings or thongs, but only of a bar. The power of the keys, then, which was given only to Peter, was the power of a master of the house to open and shut; but the power of binding and loosing, given to all the apostles, is the full judicial power in the Church to remit and retain sins.

regarded as an act of divine authority, wrought by divine commission. The Lord had, indeed, foreseen the mistakes which would arise from the short-sightedness and narrowness of men; but he looked on them no less than on the defects, corruptions and errors of preaching, which were equally foreseen, and of human instruments generally, in carrying out a divine purpose, as an unavoidable incident of His earthly economy, a something to be allowed for, and which would not counteract the far greater benefits of the institution.

The question of how to deal with moral errors in those already in the Church had a double aspect, as bearing on the Church or community, and on the inward state and conscience of the sinning individual. The community suffered a double injury, internal and external, from the grave public offences of its members; internally, from the bad example and scandal given, which required some kind of reparation or satisfaction to counteract it, externally, from the prejudice to that good reputation among Jews and Heathen so desirable and needful for the Church. The last evil was felt, as before under the Old Covenant, and even more strongly,—at a time when the rumour was sure to spread among the Heathen,—as an aggravation of guilt. So Paul cried out upon the Jews in the words of Isaiah; "Through you God's name is blasphemed among the Gentiles," and he warned Christian slaves, in their behaviour to their masters, to provide, "that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed."[1]

[1] Rom. ii. 24. 1 Tim. vi. 1.

As a matter of self-preservation, the sinner's exclusion from the communion of the Church, which, so far as in him lay, he had injured and humiliated, must have seemed the only adequate remedy; and that exclusion must last till the scandal publicly given was as publicly atoned, through undoubted tokens of penitence and change of heart;—and thus we have at once the public penance of the apostolic Church. And further, every one regarded himself, and was regarded by others, as a member of the body of Christ, the Church. No Christian could sin for himself alone; the consequences must inevitably extend to other members, to all, though it might be in a remote manner not outwardly cognisable. "If one member suffers, all suffer with it."[1] All therefore share in the sin of one. No Christian could say to his fellow-Christian, "What is it to thee, if I sin?" Every community was a people of priests called to serve God in common, and bring to Him the sacrifice of self-devotion,—it was the bride chosen and prepared by the Lord; the sins of individuals lessened that sacrifice, and stained the bridal robe. It concerned every community, and the whole Church, that sins should be repented, should not be concealed, but confessed with sorrow and forgiven, for every sin was an offence against God, and also an injury to the Church. Nor could the sinner be at rest till assured of forgiveness from the injured party, forgiveness therefore as well on the side and in the name of God, as also of the Church. And hence, the power of binding and loosing was so indispensable to the

[1] 1 Cor. xii. 26.

Church, and had to be made into an institution which the Old Covenant neither knew nor needed. The Church had to forgive, but she could not do so till assured that God forgave. Thus, when an apostle or bishop loosed the sinner in the name and by the authority of God on evidence of true repentance, he also forgave in the name of the Church; he acted in the double capacity of one bearing the commission of God and of a plenipotentiary of the Church.

On the other hand, the power to loose, ordained by Christ in His Church, was a provision for the sin-laden conscience to receive on penitent confession the assurance of pardon. The inheritors of apostolic power were to use this right of binding and loosing, not after their own will and human pleasure, but according to God's dispensation, as organs whereby He announces His intention to forgive the Christian his sins, or applies to particular individuals His general will to forgive. Here, then, was a gift of grace and an ordinance for its administration deposited in the Church, so far related to baptism, the Eucharist and other means of grace, that in all alike the secure communication of a certain healing and quickening operation of the Holy Ghost was connected with the sensible act of a human minister. Here, again, was a foundation laid for relations of confidence, advice, and instruction between the dispenser of the ordinance and its recipient. For "it is not good for man to be alone," in matters where self-deceit and self-love are difficult to avoid. He was not to pronounce sentence on himself and so gain rest, but to have it pronounced

on him in the name and by the standard of God. Meanwhile, the confession and the self-examination which it pre-supposed had a cleansing and illuminating power not otherwise attainable; but the Church could not fulfil her office of healing the wounded and bringing back the lost, unless they made an unreserved disclosure of their state of conscience.

The ministers of the Church were appointed to dispense her mysteries and means of grace. When Christ bids His disciples not cast what is holy before dogs or pearls before swine, that is said firstly of doctrine, but applies also to means of grace which are not to be wasted on the hardened and impenitent, and thus profaned. As Paul bids individuals examine themselves lest they receive the body and blood of the Lord unworthily, and eat and drink their own judgment, so was it the duty of pastors also to make such an examination and give or refuse to give accordingly. But this examination was only possible, if Christians were willing to confess their sins and reveal their inward state to the priest, not merely as a confidential human adviser, but as a minister of God, to whose dispensation was committed the remission of sins in the Church. One sin, indeed, there was, a "sin unto death," which could not be forgiven, the sin against the Holy Ghost, that wilful denial and rejection of divine truth, which is the fruit of a radically evil will and hardened mind darkening the intellect.[1] But the Church could never know that any one had committed this sin,

[1] Matt. vii. 6; xii. 31. 1 Cor. xi. 27. Mark iii. 28, 29. Luke xii. 10. 1 John v. 16. Heb. vi. 4—6.

or make it a ground of exclusion. She was to assume that the penitent Christian, however deeply he had fallen, was not under the terrible ban of unpardonable sin, and was, therefore, to deal with him as with a curable invalid.

In that age of small Christian communities, chosen out from the mass of men, where the bond was so close and the mutual intercourse of members so living, when miraculous gifts prevailed and the prophets often saw into men's innermost hearts, individual sins and errors were undoubtedly brought before the congregation, and this was done in the form of self-accusation and a request for the intercession of the rest, as well as in prophetic warnings and revelations. And here an individual Christian, who possessed the prophetic spirit, could assure a fallen brother of forgiveness in the name of God and the Church. But gradually, towards the close of the apostolic period, the Church had to enter in those respects also on her regular course of ordered administration. In the Old Testament, the need of confessing sin and the blessing God attached to it was expressed; "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper, but he that confesseth and forsaketh them shall have mercy." "While I kept silence, my bones waxed old." In the Epistle of James the sick man is bidden to call for the presbyters, that they may anoint him, and he may obtain remission of sins. And then these words immediately follow; "Confess your sins one to another, and pray for one another that ye may be healed." Healing of the sick, both bodily and spiritual, is spoken of, and the apostle con-

nects closely the removal of bodily disease with the remission of sin. "Confess to one another," refers to the priests called in to anoint the sick man and pray for him, and to whom he was also to confess his sins. That is what James directs.[1]

There was a precept of the Lord as to the position of the community towards a sinful member. He had bidden the offended party deal thus with the offender;—first to admonish him alone, then before some witnesses, and, if this failed, to accuse him before the Church,—not the multitude of believers, which would generally be impossible, but the officers of the Church. If the offender would not submit to their decision, he was to be treated as a Heathen and a publican, estranged and apostate from the Church. For gross and public sins the apostles ordered public penance. If that proved ineffectual, the sinner was to be excluded, and the rest to break off intercourse and not even eat with him, though not to view him as an enemy. This exclusion was to be used as a means of reformation, and, in the case of great public faults, to be applied by the community itself. The apostle says of the false teachers, Hymenæus and Philetus, whom he "gave over to Satan,"—that is, thrust out from the Church and her ordinances among the Heathen and princes of this world—that it was a chastisement designed to teach them not to blaspheme the doctrine of Christ. The case of the incestuous Corinthian shows that the apostles acted with independent authority. Paul writes word, that on the information reaching him he had pro-

[1] Prov. xxviii. 13. Ps. xxxii. 1. James v. 15, 16.

nounced judicial sentence in the name of Christ, being absent in body but present in spirit, that this sinner should be delivered over to Satan, in order that his body might be punished (with diseases) and his soul be saved. He sat in spirit in their assembly, and pronounced sentence as judge, they being assessors or jurymen; their only remaining duty was to carry out his sentence and separate themselves from the evildoer. In the next Epistle, after his command had been obeyed, and the sinner had entered into himself and was deeply grieved, he bids them forgive and receive him back to his Christian privileges, lest he should be swallowed up by too much sorrow, and fall into despair.[1] A like instance of combining Church discipline with love is related of the apostle John. He had commended a youth to the bishop of a city on the coast of Asia, who was baptized, but was afterwards led astray, and became the chief of a band of robbers. John sought him out, converted him, and brought him back to the community. "He prayed constantly for him, persevered in fasting with him, consoled him with many words of admonition and comfort, and did not leave the city till he had restored him to the Church."[2] Here, then, the institution of penance, which appears in a more settled shape in the middle of the second century, in the writings of Hermas and others, is already in process of formation.

The first Church at Jerusalem continued in religious

[1] Matt. xviii. 15—18. 2 Thess. iii. 6, 14, 15. 2 Tim. iii. 5. 2 John 10, 11. 1 Tim. i. 20. 1 Cor. v. 3—5. 2 Cor. ii. 5—11.

[2] Eus. iii. 23.

and national fellowship with Judaism, and took part in the temple service as Christ had set the example. The Christians came daily to the morning and evening sacrifice, they assembled gladly in Solomon's Porch, and out of Jerusalem attended the Synagogue service on the Sabbath, which consisted of reading and expounding the Scriptures, prayer and psalmody. In all these portions of the legal worship they, with their gaze rendered keen by faith, recognised a typical and prophetic reference to the Lord, and saw the fulfilment in Him. Even Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, observed the Jewish feasts and sacrifices, and attended the Synagogues. He testifies himself to his eager desire to keep the feast of Pentecost in Jerusalem.[1] This cannot be applied to the Gentile Christian communities. Nor even in Jerusalem could believers confine themselves to partaking in this national worship. There was a sacred legacy they could only celebrate in close and secret communion together,—the new Passover, which continually proclaimed the death of Jesus, the sacrifice and feast which applied its fruits. For this celebration, which was the centre of their religious life, they assembled in private houses, subdividing into smaller congregations.

And thus was the word of the Lord fulfilled, that the time would come when neither on Gerizim nor at Jerusalem would the Father be worshipped, but the true worshippers should worship him in spirit and in truth.[2] As yet, the two went on side by side,—in the temple, the bloody annual sacrifices of the Law, local, ceremonial,

[1] Acts iii., v. xviii. [2] John iv. 21—23.

unspiritual, belonging only to the past, with an only typical truth,—and beside them, in the secrecy of a quiet chamber, the celebration of the new sacrifice, all spirit and truth, where the victim itself was spiritual, and all rested on facts and realities, on inward surrender of spirit and heart to God. A few short years, and the temple with its sacrifices had passed away; while the new sacrifice of spirit and truth—the fulfiment, spiritualization, and perfecting of the temple service gone to return no more —passed from city to city, from nation to nation, and was celebrated pure and bloodless on thousands of altars.

To the Christians of that first age the whole of life was a continuous worship, and every day a festival. They assembled constantly; reviled and hated by the mass around them, they felt keenly the need of meeting as often as possible, to gain support from the Lord, and from their own hopes, to quicken their memory of His words and acts, to console and encourage one another. The rich treasure of spiritual gifts existing since Pentecost in the bosom of the Church imparted to these meetings a higher consecration; and even if no apostle was present, there was no lack of gifted teachers and prophets whose prayers, meditations, and exhortations, supplied expression and nourishment to the faith and desire of the assemblage. Afterwards, James had to give a caution against too many seeking to be teachers.[1] Thus the worship and life of the community flowed into each other. A separation of private and social acts of devotion was neither practicable nor desirable. Paul announced the supreme law of public worship in saying,

[1] James iii. 1.

"Let all be done to edification."[1] For the Church is God's house, and the soul of every believer should be a temple of the Holy Ghost built on that house or temple. And this is so, when common and individual energies are alike directed to mutual growth and confirmation in faith and knowledge, in love of God and our neighbour. He who joins in this work for himself and others, builds up; he who counteracts the work by evil example and false teaching, rends asunder.

Brotherly fellowship and equality, gladness and singleness of heart, were the dominant feeling and temper of the Christian communities. The common bond was almost as close as of family life. Brotherly love found expression in the *agape*, a simple meal, to which all contributed, and which all partook without distinction; what remained over was applied to the poor. Connected with the Eucharistic celebration, solemnised with prayer and psalmody, and closed with a brotherly kiss, these "feasts of love," or "of the Lord," had a liturgical character. The union of the *agape* and sacrifice into one unbroken act spread from the Mother Church of Jerusalem. The example of Christ who ordained His sacrifice at a meal, and the custom of the Greek *syssitia*, supplied by contributions from the partakers, co-operated towards suggesting this institution. At Corinth, an abuse had crept in of the wealthy taking first the portions brought for themselves and their friends, so that, in the strong language of the apostle, one was hungry and another drunk. The party spirit there was chiefly

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

in fault in this matter. Paul tells them that, if they came together to satisfy hunger and thirst, they could do that better at home, without shunning the poorer Christians by the distinction of a separate table. They were to wait for each other, and feast together, each distributing of his own without distinctions.[1]

It is not clear whether the Eucharistic oblation and communion preceded or followed the *agape*, and the views of antiquity on the question are divided.[2] The two were, anyhow, so closely connected that Paul saw a profanation of the Eucharist in the conduct of the Corinthians about the *agape*. They showed, by their loveless and greedy behaviour, that they were not in a state of soul corresponding to the dignity and sacredness of the act, and did not distinguish the body and blood of the Lord from common food. They received the body of Christ without self-examination, with an impure conscience and intention, unworthily, and were guilty of profanation, so that they ate and drank judgment to themselves, and sicknesses and deaths followed as divine chastisements.[3]

Whether the Eucharistic sacrifice was celebrated daily in the first Christian communities, as has often been assumed, is very doubtful. There is no trace of it in the New Testament.[4] If it was so, the custom very

[1] Acts ii. 46. Jude 12. Rom. xvi. 16. 1 Cor. xvi. 20; xi. 21 sqq. 1 Thess. v. 26. 1 Pet. v. 14.

[2] Chrysostom, Theodoret, and Pelagius, think it came first; Augustine, that it came last.—*Ep.* 118 *ad Januar.*

[3] 1 Cor. xi. 27–30.

[4] [This depends on whether καθ' ἡμέραν, Acts ii. 46, applies to the whole verse or the first clause only. There is certainly some difficulty

soon ceased. The *agape* connected with the Eucharist was certainly not held daily, or it would have taken the place of household meals—which Paul assumes, however, to be the rule—and have disturbed family life. From what occurred at Troas, we may conclude that the celebration was always or often in the evening, after the pattern of its institution. Paul desired to observe Sunday there by the communion and *agape*, but it was after midnight, when the young Eutychus fell down asleep from the window, and not till after raising him to life did the apostle proceed "to break bread."[1]

Other religious meetings were held frequently, sometimes daily, for instruction, edification and prayer. These were open to strangers who were not converts. Passages from the Old Testament were read and expounded as in the Synagogue. When men with the requisite spiritual gifts were present, they took part in the teaching. There is no evidence that any took part in public teaching, who were not either ministers of the Church or endowed with some special gift. Psalms and hymns were chanted in these assemblies. The Psalter exactly suited the then condition of the Church. The constantly recurring complaints and hopes of the oppressed, the prayers of the poor and feeble for protection and deliverance, gave full expression to the

in supposing that the daily *celebration*, if it ever existed, should have fallen into disuse, as it seems to have done, for several centuries. Daily *communion*, as we know from Tertullian, and others, was common enough; but it was received at home from the reserved sacrament. Nor does this practice seem to have ceased with the ages of persecution.—Tr.]

[1] 1 Cor. xi. 22, 34. Acts xx. 7—11.

sufferings and faith, the supplication and confidence of the first Christians. They had also songs newly composed, the utterance of solemn devotion; and it is clear how familiarly they used these, and with what powerful effect, from the apostle bidding them seek inspiration, not in wine, but in psalms, hymns and spiritual songs.[1]

The same apostle bids them pray in their assemblies for all men; first, for their enlightenment and conversion, for God wills all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of truth. They were to make special prayer for kings and all in authority, and at the same time to ask the blessing of a quiet and peaceful life under their protection. They were to pray with pure and uplifted hands, men with uncovered, women with covered heads, and in decent clothing.[2] Offerings were made at the public service, partly to support the ministers of the Church, partly for the poor. For it was part of the agreement between Paul and the three chief apostles, that the Gentile converts should support the Jews in Jerusalem and Judæa with such gifts. Paul directs the Corinthians to lay by something every

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 13. Col. iii. 16. James v. 13. 1 Cor. xiv. 26. Eph. v. 19.

[2] 1 Tim. ii. 1—4. 1 Cor. xi. 10. In saying, "because of the angels," the apostle has a similar meaning to that of Christ; "Despise none of these little ones, *for* their angels always behold the face of My Father." Matt. xviii. 10. Paul means that women, as to the decency of their outward appearance at divine service, should have regard to their guardian angels, and Him whom they behold; just as Christians, in their general intercourse with simple, retiring believers, should remember the guardian angels of these little ones, who are therefore highly esteemed before God.

Sunday, that the sum total may be devoted to this purpose.[1]

The Jewish Sabbath was a day of rest and abstinence from all labour. It was not specifically intended as the day of worship, for the legal sacrifices bore no relation to it, but in the time of Christ the chief Synagogue worship was always held on that day, with prayer and reading and exposition of Scripture. And Christ, while declaring Himself Lord of the sabbath, kept the day in Jewish fashion, only rejecting the severe Pharisaic restrictions about rest. In the Church, the sabbath was observed from the first by Jewish converts; and Paul treats this, like other practices of the Mosaic law, as permissible, so long as the observers of it did not interfere with the liberty of others, and try to make it of universal obligation. He reckons the sabbath, like the Jewish laws about fasts, distinctions of meats and new moons, among things whose only meaning was typical, and which must be left to the judgment of every man's conscience. He reproaches the Galatians, who sought righteousness and salvation in observing the ceremonial law, with keeping Jewish weekly and annual feasts and the sabbath, and thus becoming again enslaved "to weak and wretched elements." To the Romans he says, "One maketh a distinction of days, another regardeth all days alike; let each follow his own conscience."[2] And, in fact, the Jewish Sabbath belonged to what was done away, the "elements of this world," which have

[1] Gal. ii. 10. 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

[2] Col. ii 16. Gal. iv. 8, 9. Rom. xiv. 5.

no further meaning for Christians. It was a memento of blessings bestowed on the Jews; but now a higher dispensation had entered in. Since the day of Pentecost the Church kept, and keeps, in a higher sense to the end of time one great sabbath of spiritual rest in God. But the old Sabbath, with its rest of mere inaction, its formality of the letter, was at an end. The Church established her own weekly festival.

It is certain, then, that in the apostolic Church the law of the sabbath was no longer binding in the Jewish sense. Nor is it true to say that the apostles changed the sabbath into Sunday, the observance of the seventh day to the observance of the first. For neither is there any trace of such a transference taking place, and, moreover, the Christian Sunday differs widely from the Jewish sabbath. There was no precept for the latter of common worship, but only of bodily rest, nor has the prohibition of lighting fires and cooking food on the sabbath been transferred to the Sunday of the Christian Church. And, indeed, but for later history and tradition, we should be completely in the dark as to the customs of the apostolic age about this festival, for all that can be gathered from the New Testament amounts to this; first, that John calls the day when he saw his vision "the Lord's day," which probably means the first day of the week; secondly, that Paul celebrated "the breaking of bread" at Troas on a Sunday,[1] which obviously does not prove that the Eucharist was not

[1] According to our reckoning it would be Monday, for the celebration came after midnight.

celebrated on other days also; lastly, that he recommends the Corinthians to lay up something for an offering on every first day of the week.[1]

That Sunday received its festive character as the day of the Lord's resurrection, is beyond a doubt, and is testified at the beginning of the second century.[2] Its new name, the Lord's day, entirely unknown to the Old Testament, shows that in the mind of the Church it was Christ the Lord who set upon it the seal of the New Covenant. And thus the divine command, as well moral as liturgical, "Hallow the Sabbath," was fulfilled in the Church. The first Christians neither kept to the Old Testament day nor the legal manner of observance; they sanctified their new festival as a community for whom the Jewish sharp distinction between work day and Sabbath had no existence, who viewed the whole life of a Christian as a festival, and recognised as their essential and imperishable Sabbath the rest of the soul in God.

There is no mention of annual festivals in the New Testament, but we may safely assume that Easter and Pentecost were solemnly observed as the commemorations of Christ's resurrection and of the gift of the Spirit. The example of the Lord, who used to come to Jerusalem for the Passover, would suggest to Christians to keep a feast which had naturally and necessarily become a Christian festival, and indeed the chief festival of the

[1] Exod. xxxv. 3; xvi. 23. Nnmbers xv. 32. Apoc. i. 10. Acts xx. 7, 8. 1 Cor. xvi 2.

[2] *Ep. Barn.* 15.

Church, since Christ had become the true Paschal Lamb sacrificed in place of the Paschal lamb of old. And so with Pentecost. To communities which had before their eyes in the spiritual gifts the fruits of that great birth-day of the Church, the annual commemoration of the event, or the change of Pentecost from a Jewish solemnity of dedicating the first-fruits of the harvest into a Christian feast of the descent of the Spirit, was a matter of course, needing no express command. We see that Paul laid special stress on this feast; he would not stay to keep it with the Church at Ephesus, and at another time, also, he hastened on to Jerusalem, to be able to keep it there.[1] In the subsequent disputes about Easter, A.D. 160, Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna, and Anicetus of Rome, appealed each to the apostolic tradition of his own Church. Polycarp insisted that he had himself kept Easter with the apostle John after the Asiatic use, and that the other apostles he had conversed with, Philip and Andrew, had agreed in this. Indeed, it is quite conceivable that Peter and Paul fixed a different time for Easter at Rome from that John had observed at Ephesus, where he had to consider the Jews especially.

The Christians were above all a praying people. The history of the new-born Church commences; "They were continually in the temple, praising and blessing God." The little knot of believers "continued with one accord in prayer and supplication;" "they continued daily with one accord in the temple." They had their

[1] Acts xviii. 21; xx. 16.

hours of prayer constantly recurring. "At the sixth hour, Peter went on the roof of the house to pray;" "At midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises to God." Their frequent prayer rested on the conviction that man is united to God, called into fellowship and intercourse with Him, that the omniscient God "is not far from every one of us, for in Him we live, and move, and have our being."[1] Christians prayed, for God's will was in their hearts, His name on their lips, His kingdom their hope. They prayed, while the Gentiles knew not what prayer was; the multitude called on their gods for help and earthly blessings, but did not pray, and the student of philosophy, who deemed that all things were subject to fixed laws of an eternal and unbending course of nature, could look for no answer to petitions vainly addressed to powerless deities, themselves under the same constraint of nature.

Christians had received the Psalms as a precious heritage from the Old Covenant. In them they possessed the only true prayers then existing among men. In them they found what at once moved and satisfied them, the sense of God's presence, the yearning for a closer communion with Him, the grief of sin and the agony of repentance tempered with consolation and forgiveness. But prayer had a higher place in the Christian Church than under the Old Testament. Christians were bidden to pray without ceasing, under all circumstances, without growing weary.[2] Prayer was to be for

[1] Luke xxiv. 53. Acts i. 14; ii. 46; x. 9; xvi. 25; xvii. 28.
[2] Luke xviii. 1. 1 Thess. v. 17. Eph. vi. 18.

spiritual, what breath is to bodily, life. The constant endeavour and desire of man's heart for eternal righteousness, the fixing of intellect and will on God, the raising of the spirit out of the narrow boundaries of the present into fellowship with that Being to whom all evil is an abomination, whose law of holiness is immutable, and who wills only our perfection,—that is the prayer without ceasing which Christ and the apostles commended and practised. Prayer meant for Christians—listening above all for God's voice within them, remembering His words and shaping their thoughts accordingly, questioning and looking at themselves in the light streaming from Him, and letting it shine into all the dark corners of their hearts, and, while gazing on their sins and imperfections, entreating pardon and strength to purify themselves continually more and more. All that philosophy in its noblest form had promised to the Greeks—repose of mind, regulation of the affections, stilling the excited passions, moral purification—Christians gained from prayer. This practice was the school of philosophy, where they cried to God, prayed, gave thanks with childlike self-surrender, confidence and perseverance, renewing constantly this interrupted communion with Him, resting from earthly cares and toils, and feeding their faith and love on meditation of the sublimest truths. The Gentile wordiness and thoughtless repetition of the same form, as though some magical power lay in the words, Christ had forbidden to His followers. Christian prayer was not to consist in moving the lips, or in multiplying words, but in the heart's

love and desire to please God, the hunger and thirst after righteousness, the continuous act of self-sacrifice; this prayer, and this alone, Christ promised that He would always hear.[1]

He had taught His disciples a short prayer of seven petitions, which comprehended all the teaching of His Sermon on the Mount.[2] All which a man can say when holding intercourse with God, is there contained. Yet in form and character it is an universal prayer, rising above individual needs and wishes, and embracing all nations and the whole Church. It opens with expressing the consciousness of relationship between God and man, absolute trust in His fatherly love, and the return of a childlike love to Him. Then, as he named heaven, the supplicant placed himself in the presence of God, and as it were in sight of Him; that kingdom and dwelling-place of the unfallen and the Blessed, in the midst whereof God is throned in glory and is all in all, rose before his spirit's eye. His prayer began, not with his own personal wants and complaints, but with the wants and the advancement of the Church. He felt himself above all things the citizen of a divine kingdom, bound first to think of that great whole to which he belonged. The Church has no other office but the hallowing of God's name, the realization of His kingdom, and the submission of mankind to His will. For the Church,

[1] Matt. xxi. 22.

[2] [The substance of the Lord's Prayer seems, however, to have been already in use among the Jews, and adopted rather than revealed by Christ. See Möhler's *Symbolism*, vol. ii. p. 336, *Eng. Trans.* Cf. Horne's *Introd.*, vol. iii. p. 296. Wordsworth's *New Test.* Pt. i. p. 19. —Tr.]

therefore, is the prayer offered that in and through it God's name may be hallowed,—that He may be known and worshipped as the Holy One, His name be glorified by all in word and deed, His service conducted in the Church be a worthy ministry of the Holy Ghost. Then the prayer passes on to the coming of His kingdom, for it is the Church's mission to overshadow the whole earth with her branches; she is not only existing, but continually coming into existence, destined to grow evermore in an unfailing youth. The Church is a kingdom ever coming, having the tendency and power, while growing inwardly, to penetrate ever more and more the substance of humanity, to sink more deeply into her members' souls with her blessings, while spreading outwardly from land to land, from nation to nation, and widening her borders. Here, too, the supplicant cast his eye on the accomplishment of that kingdom and the close of its earthly period, by the coming again of Christ. And thus, in praying for the coming of the Church, the apostolical Christian prayed for the salvation of the world. In the third petition, he uttered the highest wish which the finite created spirit can attain to, the desire for perfect agreement between the will of the creature and the will of God. In desiring that God's will might be as perfectly fulfilled by men as it is by the blessed spirits, with as free and joyful an obedience, and as unconditional an abandonment to the divine counsels, he prayed for himself and others the noblest object that can be striven for in this life, though in this life only approximately attained; he said for himself what the

Lord had said in the moment of His bitterest agony of soul, "Not my, not our will, but Thine, be done!"

By a bold and sudden transition the prayer passed from lofty petitions for mankind and the Church to individual wants, from the spiritual to the earthly. But the Christian neither desired, nor was it right he should desire, more of earthly goods than mere bodily support.[1] The prayer, therefore, included the expression of his contentment and readiness to offer up to God all beyond what was absolutely indispensable, if only he had bread, and above all had Him who called Himself "the Bread of life."[2] The consciousness of guilt warned him after earthly needs to think of spiritual, of the satisfaction of the most imperative want of a soul deeply acquainted with its own sinfulness; he represented to himself the worst among his many remembered transgressions of the divine commandments, but even here, as in asking for bread, his prayer was not confined to himself but embraced the whole community; he prayed "forgive *us*," not simply, forgive me. And the prayer was also a vow. While he penitently acknowledged his sin, and confidently looked for divine forgiveness as the consequence of his prayers, he did not forget the condition under which alone he could dare to appropriate it. He knew that only those who forgive shall be forgiven, and he declared his willingness to fulfil that hardest among

[1] ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον. This word, used nowhere else, can scarcely have any other sense than that suggested by ἡ ἐπιοῦσα, from which it is derived—"Give us to-day our bread for to-morrow."

[2] John vi. 35.

the precepts of love, the renunciation of all feeling of revenge and the repayment of evil with good. But he not only prayed forgiveness of the past; that past reminded him of the present and future, that he still was and would be a weak, frail man, in constant need of the help of grace, exposed to manifold temptations. He thought how often the motions of his heart were in league with those temptations, and how powerful they were, unless checked at once; and so he prayed that God's fatherly care would keep far from him the most dangerous stumbling-blocks and assaults, and not let him be tempted to the point of yielding and beyond his power. And, lastly, he compressed the feeling of painful eagerness of one drowned, yet restored to life, into the closing all-comprehensive prayer for deliverance from evil, from the burden of sin and from eternal destruction, and for entrance into that kingdom where there is no more evil.

Intercession, or prayer for blessing and grace for others, was commended by Christ to His followers; "Pray for them that injure and persecute you." In His great prayer as High priest He sat forth an exalted model of intercession, though, of course, no Christian could apply those words to himself. The apostles often asked for the intercession of believers and highly esteemed it; "The earnest prayer of a righteous man availeth much," says James. Christians looked for a double blessing from it, both for him who prayed and those he prayed for; they remembered that saying of Christ, that the blessing pronounced by the apostles on

the house they entered would return to them again, if the inmates were unworthy.[1] So would it be with intercessions.

When the attention of a thinking Heathen was directed to the new religion spreading in the Roman Empire, the first thing to strike him as extraordinary would be that a religion of prayer was superseding the religions of ceremonies and invocations of gods; that it encouraged all, even the humblest and most uneducated, to pray, or, in other words, to meditate and exercise the mind in self-scrutiny and contemplation of God. For the praying Christian, if his prayer was anything more than lip work, could not think or meditate on anything else, and the first places of Christian assembly were not principally schools or lecture-rooms, but places of prayer. The doctrines which served to occupy the Christian mind in prayer were, the omnipresence and holiness of God, His remunerative justice, the freedom and immortality of man, sin, redemption, and the need of God's strengthening and upholding grace. This region of Christian metaphysics was open even to the mind of one who had had no intellecutual culture before conversion. In this school of prayer he learnt—what philosophy had declared to be as necessary as it was difficult, and only attainable to few—to know himself as God knew him. And from that self-knowledge prayer carried him on to self-mastery. If the Heathen called on his gods to satisfy his passions, for the Christian

[1] Matt. v. 44. John xvii. 1 Thess. v. 25. Eph. vi. 18, 19. 1 Tim. ii. 1. James v. 16. Matt. x. 13.

tranquillity of soul, moderation and purifying of the affections, was at once the preparation and the fruit of prayer. And thus prayer became a motive power of moral renewal and inward civilization, to which nothing else could be compared for efficacy. It was a bond of common fellowship and brotherhood, an exercise where the intellect and will of an ever-increasing number of men, however great their original varieties of mental power and culture, found a point of contact. And, further, it was an efficacious means of peace and reconciliation, for he had to pray constantly, "forgive me," and he could never do that without himself forgiving in word and deed, and making peace with his brother. It was a constant struggle against all tendencies to greed and self-seeking, for he had to remember that saying; "Give, and it shall be given to you."[1] If he wished to pray for earthly goods with any hope of being heard, it could only be on the condition of using them for the benefit of others. He knew that all he received was but a loan, entrusted to him to be devoted according to God's will to the service of others after his own wants were satisfied. And if, finally, he was discontented with his lot, murmured at his position, and was embittered by the harshness and injustice he had to suffer under, to pray or hold intercourse with a suffering and crucified Lord was a sure means of gaining calmness and patience; the more so, because in entering the Church he was forewarned that he joined a hated and persecuted community, and must be prepared for his full share of

[1] Luke vi. 38.

sufferings and troubles. "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord; ye must be hated for My name's sake." So Christ spake, and so, too, His apostle; "All who will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution."[1] They knew, therefore, beforehand that, by the school of suffering, they would be brought into the school of prayer.

And here another essential contrast between Christianity and Heathenism, and in a measure Judaism also, is revealed. A religion whose Founder died on the cross could only be a religion of suffering. There is truth in that saying; "Worldly welfare is the blessing of the Old Testament, tribulation of the New." For it is the constantly recurring teaching of the apostles, that suffering is a blessing, one of God's most effective and beneficial instruments for training the soul. All sufferings have a general relation to sin, and are so far chastisements, but purifying chastisements which God sends now as a Father, that He may not inflict them hereafter as a Judge. Christ is our example in His sufferings; we must drink His chalice and suffer with Him, that we may partake His glory. These ideas are always recurring, and we may observe in Paul a peculiar mingled feeling of joy, consolation and sorrow in his sufferings. His conviction that, for those who love God, all things work together for good, upholds him under bitter tribulations in the clear atmosphere of thankfulness and love. He counts it an honour to be bitterly afflicted, and expects all Christians to share his feeling,

[1] Matt. x. 22, 24. 2 Tim. iii. 12.

for trials are a means of perfection and pledge of divine grace.[1]

Hence arose a virtue which first grew on Christian soil and from the root of Christian ideas,—patience, with its fruits or various forms, of equanimity, steadfastness, and endurance. With the apostles and their brethren it was so unshaken a trust in the wisdom and goodness of God, that the will of the sufferer, even in long-enduring afflictions, resigned itself without murmur or discouragement entirely to His higher will, and thought only of letting the purifying power of suffering take full effect. Here, again, Paul was an example; he shows how the complete incapacity to help themselves forced upon Christians an absolute surrender to the will of God. Thrice he had prayed in vain for the removal of a grievous bodily pain, and was answered, that the power of divine grace was proved in his weakness and impotence.[2] Thus patience was transfigured into hope, and quiet waiting for the time when it would please the Lord to turn sorrow into joy. And from patience in sufferings grew a tolerant and forgiving view of the faults and infirmities of others, and of offences received from them. But this new and purely Christian virtue was only possible, through the perfection to which prayer had reached in the Church. "If any one among you is afflicted, let him pray," James had said.[3] The pati-

[1] Matt. x. 38, 39. Luke ix. 23. James i. 2, 3. 1 Pet. iv. 1, 2. Rom. viii. 17, 18, 28; v. 3. 2 Tim. ii. 12. Apoc. vii. 14. 2 Cor. iv. 10. Heb. xiii. 13. Phil. iii. 10. Col. i. 24.

[2] 2 Cor. xii. 9.

[3] James v. 13.

ence thus evoked, and built up in the soul by prayer, differed widely from the patience taught and commended by the later Greek philosophy of the Stoics; the earlier philosophers took no notice of the subject. Christians were surprised that patience was so highly valued by the most various schools of philosophy, and praised as the noblest fruit of their teaching; that in fact they were wont to put it forward as a speaking evidence of the excellence of their system, and while in conflict on all other questions were only agreed in this.[1] But in that system the philosophical ground of the apathy, corresponding to Christian patience, was entirely different and thoroughly unsatisfactory. If with some it was only the quiet submission to what is inevitable, which becomes the wise man,—with others, a forced mastery over the affections, or unyielding defiance of destiny, or some kind of hope to regain former joy after transitory disturbance and mishaps, that was commended under the name of patience,—the Stoics came nearer to the Christian idea, in so far as they always spoke of resignation to the will of God. But when this resignation of theirs is more closely examined, its hollowness and unnaturalness is disclosed. The sufferings of mankind are necessary for the good of the universe and happiness of Zeus, for in the great chain of cause and effect, up to the highest point, no smallest link can be dropped; God must care more for the universe than for individuals, and the sufferings of a part are the welfare of the whole; if man chose, instead of resignation, to break out into

[1] Tert. *De Pat.* 1.

impatience, he would injure or wrench off a limb of that great animal, the universe.[1] It was only Christian doctrine which could recognise alike the indestructible dignity of human personality, and the full maintenance of its rights even in suffering.

The Christian esteemed it the highest evidence of divine favour when he was counted worthy to suffer for faith, truth, and righteousness. The disciples of Jesus learnt to regard it as their appointed lot to be likened to the image of Christ in persecutions, in shame and contempt, in prison and in death. They knew that in the natural course of things confessing with the lips would involve confessing in deeds; that the teaching of the cross would rouse hatred, and hatred would pass into persecution. They must take up the cross of Christ, and be ready to share His baptism of blood. When He foretold to Peter his death on a cross, He said: "Follow Me;" Paul grounded his hope of partaking in the glory of Christ on being conformed to the image of His death.[2] And thus grew up the idea of Christian Martyrdom, as a bearing witness to the faith. That critical moment, when the Christian had to choose between denying his profession or dying for it, was regarded as the moment of giving a solemn testimony for the Redeemer. The believer had to show before the world what value he put upon the honour of Christ;

[1] Arrian, ii. 16. Senec. *Ep.* 107, 74. *De Prov.* 3. Marc. Antonin. v. 8. Max. Tyr. *Diss.* 25.

[2] Matt. x. 38; xvi. 24; xx. 22, 23. Mark viii. 34. Luke ix. 23. John xxi. 19. Phil. iii. 10, 11. 2 Cor. i. 5.

what the teaching, the grace, and the ordinances of Christ had done for him; what was the power of his hopes and his presentiment of eternal joys. His public confession was an act of truthfulness and moral courage, an act of fidelity to God, and self-sacrificing love for his unconverted brethren, to whom his unshaken, and to them enigmatical, firmness and trust would be a token and a light to guide them on the path to Christ. In these witnesses of the early Church was seen that union of pride and humility, so unintelligible to all without, which was first made possible by Christianity. The Christian could not but feel proud in the consciousness of being greater and freer than the strong and mighty ones who had power over his life and his body. And yet he was truly humble, for he knew that he had not given but received this; he was ready to offer up his life to avoid giving scandal, either to believers or unbelievers, and urged to do so by feeling that the immortal souls of the unbelievers, who would be first awakened to faith by the testimony of his death, were far more precious than his life.

Paul calls Stephen the first-fruits and type of all martyrs, a "witness" for Christ; but it is in the Apocalypse that the notion of Christian martyrdom appears in its completest form. Antipas is called by the Lord, "My faithful martyr;" John saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God, and the testimony which they held, and the giving a white robe is the symbol of their blessedness. They are under the altar, because they have offered them-

selves to their Lord. Thus, Paul compares his foreseen martyrdom to being poured out as a drink-offering; and Ignatius, who was conducted to the same death, desired to be a victim slain for sacrifice. And John saw the woman clothed in scarlet (Rome) "drunken with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus."[1] This was a clear enough intimation to the Christian communities, that, as the enmity of the Heathen world increased, a great company of martyrs would be required of them. And the thought was impressed upon them, that for a Christian there could be no fairer ornament than to pour out his blood for the Lord; that this endurance of torments and dying to bear testimony was a combat where the slain was hero and victor, where judge and executioner were the conquered; and that every Christian martyrdom was a wound inflicted on the dominant Heathenism.

[1] Acts xxii. 20. Apoc. ii. 13; vi. 9; xvii. 6. Phil. ii. 17. Ignat. *Ep. ad Rom.* 2, 4.

CHAPTER IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS AND CUSTOMS.

"MAKE not provision for the lusts of the flesh;" "Use not your liberty as an occasion for the flesh;" "Crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts."[1] These and the like admonitions of the apostle express a conviction that there is a strength of evil in the bodily organism of man, that his physical life, which Scripture calls "the flesh," contains the exciting, sustaining and corrupting cause of moral evil in the soul, that it kindles and fosters those passions which by consent of the will become acts of sin. In fact, the whole collective brood of corruption, even those sins whose seat is rather in the soul than in the body, like overweening egotism, are summed up under the term flesh, or works of the flesh; which includes, generally, moral weakness and decay, religious impotence or perversion, all in man that opposes God.[2] The apostles knew full well that sins of anger, hardness of heart, sloth and self-seeking,

[1] Rom. xiii. 14. Gal. v. 13, 24. [2] Gal. v. 19—21.

are intimately related to the body, and that it is difficult to say of many of them whether they reside more in flesh or spirit. Experience taught them that luxurious habits and rich diet gradually alter and deteriorate the whole character. And therefore they recognised in fasting—a diminution either in quantity or quality of food—a power for purifying the soul, a means of making the spirit freer and stronger, the body more willing and submissive, and of promoting the converse of man with God, a beneficial exercise of moral self-restraint and self-mastery, and even a condition of bodily welfare.

The Lord Himself, when withdrawn into solitude to prepare for His ministry, fasted forty days, and He was to be in all things a model for His disciples. He had given special instruction, as well about fasting as about alms and prayer, as the three closely connected offerings of men, warning them against perverting to Pharisaical ostentation, what was given as a means for sanctifying the heart. He once declared that prayer and fasting were the only sure means against certain diabolical influences. The disciples of John, who always fasted, were amazed at Jesus often accepting invitations to feasts, and at no special practices of fasting being observed in Him and His disciples. He replied, that now was a time of joy for His disciples, a continual marriage feast, while the Bridegroom was with them, but that when the Bridegroom was taken away the time of fasting would begin. Paul reckons fasting among the evidences of a genuine devotion to the service of God, and does not forget to include in the number and

variety of his acts and sufferings, as an apostle, his frequent fastings. There was prayer and fasting at the ordination of Paul and Barnabas, and of the presbyters they appointed.[1] Whether public fast-days were fixed so early is uncertain; very likely not, because for a long time Jewish converts continued to observe the Jewish fast-days. But it is clear that from the beginning the Christians were a people who fasted much.

Paul shows the Corinthian Christians the necessity of ascetic self-restraint by the familiar example of the candidates at the races in their public games, who prepared themselves during many months by severe diet and careful abstinence.[2] What they did for a corruptible he bids us do for an incorruptible crown. He proceeds to set himself forth as a pattern of this Christian wrestling; and in strong words, borrowed from the boxing match, describes his combat with his own body, the seat of ungodly and corrupted impulses, to break the antagonism of the slothful and voluptuous flesh, and bring it into subjection, that it may become a willing and flexible instrument of the spirit. Labours, exertions, privations and self-denials of all kinds, were the means he used to make his body pliant, lest after heralding the strife to others he should himself, in God's judgment, prove a castaway. And yet he had already to bear "a thorn in the flesh," a depressing bodily suffering, which

[1] Matt. vi. 16—18; xvii. 21; ix. 15. 2 Cor. vi. 5; xi. 27. Acts xiii. 2 sqq.; xiv. 23.

[2] 1 Cor. ix. 24—27. Compare the passages quoted here by Wetstein.

he felt like the pain of a blow with the fist, and had vainly prayed to be released from.[1]

But there was meanwhile a kind of asceticism springing from a view wholly foreign to them, which the apostles emphatically repulsed when it sought to force an entrance into the young Church. In combating this false asceticism Paul follows the hint given by Christ. The Pharisaic and Gnostic tendency among the Jews agreed, in so far that both saw in many things a physical pollution, defiling body and soul, and making man an abomination to God. This led to a more materialistic and mechanical conception of evil and sin, and to the whole life being taken up with a constant oscillation between defilements, and various washings and other necessary ceremonies of purification. But the greatest importance was attached to meats, whose defiling power washings could not remove, and which, like a destructive poison, infected the whole man, into whose substance they were to be changed. It was against this error that Christ's saying was directed: "Not what goeth into the mouth defileth a man;" meat and drink are digested, and cannot touch or defile the inner man; the heart with its desires, which food cannot reach, is the workshop of sin. But Paul had a worse error to combat than the Pharisaic exaggeration of Jewish laws about meats, since it was connected with a world-wide general system, the notion of animal food being in itself objectionable and sinful. "Touch not, taste not, handle not," said the false teachers of Colossæ, and

[1] 2 Cor. xii. 7. [For the various interpretations of this passage, see Alford *in loc.*—Tr.]

Paul briefly and strongly points out the contradiction involved in the touching of such trivial things, destined to perish in the using, being considered so important and so perilous for the soul, as Christ had already said to the Pharisees. He adds, that this theory of abstinence has, of course, an appearance of zeal for God's service and disregard for the body: the willing subjection to these human teachers and human ordinances had a show of humility, but at bottom there was no creditable motive, and it was but a flattering of carnal pride.[1] Indeed, the Gnostic and Christian asceticism were directly opposed in spirit, the one resting on the assumption that the creature to be eaten is evil and morally poisonous, while the Christian knew that "every creature of God is good," and that we, men, are the only exception to this rule, who are therefore required to restrict ourselves in the use of what is good and blameless in itself, and confine ourselves by abstinence and self-control to what we really need.[2]

Paul passed a milder judgment on those Jewish converts at Rome who not only continued to keep Jewish festivals, but abstained from flesh and wine altogether. Here there was no radical Gnostic error, as at Colossæ;

[1] Matt. xv. 11. Col. ii. 21 sqq. This passage is confessedly one of the most perplexing and most variously interpreted, especially the words *πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός*. The Greeks, and Estius, with many others, think Paul meant to assert against the *ἀφειδία* of the false teachers the due honour and satisfaction to be given to the body. But, if so, he would certainly not have used so strong a word as *πλησμονή*, filling or sating; and *σάρξ* has the moral significance of carnal mind. Therefore Hilary has explained; "Sagina carnalis sensus traditio humana est."

[2] 1 Tim. iv. 4.

else he would not simply have called these persons weak in faith, and commended them to the forbearance and brotherly love of the rest. It was only an exaggerated scruple of the Jews, which, in a city like Rome, might arise from the difficulty of obtaining meat that was pure, or had not come from an animal offered in sacrifice, and wine that had not been used for libations. This and the observance of Jewish feasts and fast days must have caused disturbance in the Christian community life. And here Paul brings out a most important principle, which was to guide Christians of all ages in such cases of conscientious practical differences. He says that in such matters none must judge others, or impute sin to them, for no Christian is lord over others, but all are God's servants. Each must act according to the measure of his knowledge, as he deems it right and pleasing to God. Whatever a man does against or beside his conviction, grounded on faith, that for him is sin. *His conscience is a law for him, even if it should err in the practical application of a truth of faith,* and binds him to abstain from an act he holds to be forbidden. Others are bound to honour this tenderness of conscience, even at the cost of their own rights and sacrifice of their liberty. Hence Paul desires "the strong" to abstain rather from flesh and wine at common meals, lest the scrupulous brethren be led to follow their example, and so injure their own conscience. He says that he himself became weak to them that were weak, that he might win the weak.[1]

While in many relations of life Christianity opened

[1] Rom. xiv., xv. 1 Cor. ix. 22.

out new paths, and both introduced and confirmed views for which hitherto Jews and Gentiles had been little if at all prepared, this was especially the case as regards the question of continence and voluntary Celibacy. To be childless and unfruitful was a curse and reproach among the Jews. There were, indeed, among the Gentiles certain priesthoods, chiefly for women, where marriage was forbidden; but in the case of men, the Greek and Roman world did not leave the matter to moral restraint, but used the services of eunuchs for the few offices requiring celibacy, as with the hierophants of the mysteries, the priests of Cybele, and some others.[1] But this involuntary celibacy was only for the ministry of some particular deities, and did not rest on moral grounds, or on any special reverence for that state, but on nature-worship and ideas of sterility and of the death of the generative and productive powers of nature, as represented by certain gods. In most cases, continence was required of their priests only to insure sterility, that no being might derive its existence from them. No notion of connecting celibacy with the aiming at holiness could grow on Heathen soil, because the general ideas of holiness, prayer and intercourse with God, as of renunciation for the good of others, were wanting. Least of all in the then state of the Heathen world could any value be set on the unmarried state; on the contrary, just the opposite view prevailed. The legislation of Augustus had visited celibacy with heavy civil disabilities, for the government wished the avoidance of marriage to be

[1] *Heid. und Jud.* pp. 171, 347.

regarded as a want of patriotic feeling and neglect of one of the weightiest duties of citizenship. The Greek republics of Athens and Sparta had before imposed penalties on celibacy; in Sparta even deferring marriage was penal. There were indeed older Roman laws against celibacy, and prizes or privileges for begetting children.[1] The prevalent view was that those who remained unmarried, who were always a great number, only did so from selfish motives, to be rid of cares, and save the expense of wife and children, and chiefly to be more at liberty to gratify their passions, or at best from dread of the follies and extravagances of wife and sons. No one dreamt of any higher ground, though at that time two famous philosophers, Epictetus and Apollonius of Tyana, preferred to remain unmarried. The recommendation of celibacy in the Christian Church must have increased the dislike of statesmen and patriots to the new religion, and this was afterwards a leading charge against it in Persia.

There is a remarkable prediction made by him who peculiarly deserves to be called the Evangelical and Messianic Prophet. While announcing a time when the Gentile shall no more be separated from the fellowship of Israel, he turns to the eunuchs, with the promise that they shall no more say, "Behold, I am a dry tree," for God will give to them that hold to His covenant a place and a name in His house and within His walls, better than

[1] Pollux *Onom.* viii. 6. Ariston *ap. Stob. Serm.* 73. Plut. *Lysand.* 3. Cic. *De Leg.* x. 20. Gell. v. 19, where the "præmia patrum" are mentioned in a speech of Scipio Africanus. Colum. i. 8.

sons and daughters, an eternal, imperishable name. While the Gentile stranger is only promised that God will admit him to His altars, and accept his offering, something far higher is set before the eunuch, who is to have an office and dignity in the house of God—the Church—and his want of children to be richly compensated.[1] The prophet, in this solemn contemplation of the future greatness and glory of the Church, cannot possibly have been thinking of the few eunuchs in Asiatic coasts; what would be the meaning of promising them so special a lot in the Church? He did not by eunuchs refer chiefly to the Heathen, for he distinguishes clearly enough between "the stranger" and the eunuch, and means by the latter the unmarried and childless.[2] He was gazing with prophetic eye into the inner courts of the Church, and there he saw the band of eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake, whom Christ mentions not, without reference to his words.

When the disciples were alarmed at the Lord's saying, so startling to Jewish ears, about the indissolubility of marriage, and thought it were better not to marry at all, Christ said to them, "All receive not this saying, but they to whom it is given." He thus confirms what the disciples said, that it is really better not to marry; but only they take this into their heart and conviction, who have received from God a right understanding of the

[1] Is. lvi. 3—5. This is implied by "place and name in God's house," *τόπος ὀνομαστός, Septuag.*

[2] So *e.g.* Umbreit *Com. über Is.* p. 406. On the contrary, Stier *Is. nicht Pseudo-is*, 1850, p. 573, does violence to the text, by explaining it to mean those spiritually impotent.

matter, and the requisite moral capabilities. And He explains more exactly, that there are three kinds of eunuchs, those born such, those made such by men, and those who have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake. There is, then, besides those naturally or otherwise disqualified for marriage, a third class, who have voluntarily renounced it, in order to strive more securely and without hindrance for the kingdom of heaven, or to be better qualified for ministering in the Church. "Let him that can, receive it," is added, that is, let him act accordingly.[1] This also shows in what sense it can be truly said that to remain unmarried is better than to marry—not in itself, or because marriage is indissoluble, as the disciples thought, but "for the kingdom of heaven's sake," the kingdom Christ was then founding for men to enter, and of which Peter afterwards received the keys. There are those to whom it is clear, under the guidance and light of grace, that it is better for them to serve God and their neighbour unmarried, in and for the kingdom, and who have the power to make this sacrifice. So Christ said. John and Paul say the same.

When John describes the hundred and forty-four thousand that were sealed as a chosen band, distinguished from other believers by special holiness, he praises, together with their guilelessness and blamelessness, their virginity. "These were not defiled with women, for they are virgins." And, as a special reward, they have the privilege among the Blessed of constantly

[1] Matt. xix. 11, 12.

following the Lamb, for they alone are like the Lord in the continual observance of virginity.[1]

Paul lays down as a general principle, that it is good for a man not to touch a woman, or, in other words, to abstain from marriage; and he wishes that all, like himself, would live in voluntary celibacy.[2] But his wish is limited by the fact that God variously divides His gifts, bestowing on one the qualifications for continence and a solitary life, in order to pursue a higher calling, while He gives to another, as his special grace, the disposition for family life and the capacity for fulfilling the duties of husband and father. And Paul knew well, and said so, that it was better to marry than to foster an impure fire of lust, breaking out from time to time

[1] Apoc. xiv. 4, 5. Many attempts have been made to weaken the force of this passage. It used to be said that abstinence from idolatry was meant; that is now given up. The new allegation that abstinence from fornication only is meant, as Bleek and de Wette explain, is contradicted by the term *παρθένοι* and the general expression *μέτα γυναικῶν*. The evasion, that Christians of the last days only are spoken of, "for whom celibacy will be a moral necessity from the peculiar circumstances of the period," (Hofmann *Schriftbeweis.* ii. 2. p. 392), conflicts with the context. They are rather an *ἀπαρχή*, "first-fruits redeemed from among men." The simplest procedure is that of Neander and Düsterdiek, who reject the whole book as spurious in consequence. Rothe (*Ethik* iii. 614) admits that, "according to our exegetic conscience, we are in no position to understand by *παρθένοι* anything else but literal virginity."

[2] 1 Cor. vii. 26. *διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην*, with reference to Matt. xxiv. 21. *θλῖψις μεγάλη*, spoken of Christ's first coming. Paul saw a time of great affliction for the whole Church coming, and made this one ground among many for preferring celibacy to marriage. But the whole context shows that it was not his main ground, for he alleges, before and after, much weightier motives, lying in the nature of the case and independent of these temporary circumstances, applying equally to all times, whether of peace or of distress and great commotions.

into sinful acts. He that marries sins not, but he that remains unmarried to serve the Lord does better. "If thou art free from a wife, seek not a wife," for there are weighty grounds for considering celibacy a preferable condition for a Christian. First, on account of the present distress, freedom from the ties of marriage is preferable. And next, there is a permanent ground, which lies in the nature of things and applies equally to all times—he that is married is variously distracted from the service of the Lord by the wish to please his wife and by worldly cares, while the unmarried can devote himself to that service with undivided heart, free spirit and full power. "The unmarried careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; the married careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife." And so, again, with women; "The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy in body and spirit; she that is married careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband." And hence, the apostle advises even those who are married to separate sometimes for awhile by mutual consent, in order to devote themselves to spiritual exercises.[1] This shows that the intercourse of married life is a hindrance to earnest prayer, and that those who would live in constant prayer do better to avoid it.

So distinctly is the unmarried state here put forward as the most suitable for the Christian and his high calling, that the apostle feels bound to observe that he has no intention of "casting a snare" upon them—that

[1] 1 Cor. vii.

he does not wish to force their consciences, which would easily lead to sins of impurity.[1] He guards himself against being supposed to lay down a general law and abuse his authority by interfering with Christian liberty. He is only advising, but he cannot but recognise in religious celibacy the nobler form of life, the more independent and worthier condition, and the opportunity of a faithful and undistracted perseverance in serving the Lord.[2] It is, in his eyes, a higher privilege, that the body of a virgin belongs solely to the Lord and remains pure from every profanation; while in marriage, where the wife has not power over her own body, such profanation often takes place through abuse of the matrimonial relation. But purity of body, as the apostle intimates, is to secure purity of mind, which gives it its true worth.

Paul has no command of the Lord in this matter; he only counsels and recommends, but he does so as one "who has received mercy of the Lord to be faithful," who is conscious according to his enlightenment that he speaks by the Holy Ghost.[3] He will not say on his own *ipse dixit* that the married state, which he well knew Christ had sanctified, is always and necessarily a hindrance to a religious life; he knew well that in many a marriage husband and wife mutually help each other in their Christian course. What he means to say is; first, that there are men specially called and fitted for a single life, and that, though comparatively very few,

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 35.

[2] Ib. τὸ εὔσχημον καὶ ἐυπρόσεδρον τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀπερισπάστως.

[3] Ib. 25, 40. [hardly "is conscious"—δοκῶ (*Vulg.* puto) "I think," or "seem to myself."—Tr.]

they do well to give scope to such a call; secondly, that the single are better fitted than the married for the service of Christ, and, therefore, for any Church office, and can do more in that service, when not distracted and hampered by worldly cares of wife and family in a ministry requiring the whole man; thirdly, that intercourse with God and Christ would be more easily and uninterruptedly maintained by the single than by the married. There were then, as now, many whose civil position made marriage impossible, or who could only found a family with the prospect of bitter want. Slavery, again, reduced thousands to compulsory celibacy. Paul taught all these how to regard their state as a holy one, and even a blessing from God. For, as he says elsewhere, "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above your power;"[1] the Christian who uses prayer, watchfulness, moderation and the means of grace, can always check and master even violent assaults of bodily passion. The temptation to transgress is not stronger for the unmarried than the temptation to abuse what is lawful for the married.

There can be no doubt how Paul would have answered, if he had been asked, whether it were better for the bearer of a Church office to be married or unmarried. In commending to Timothy the conscientious discharge of his office, he says, "No soldier entangleth himself with the affairs of life, that he may please him that chose him."[2] The principle of clerical celibacy is here involved. Paul would have said, "Every Church officer is a com-

[1] 1 Cor. x. 13. [2] 2 Tim. ii. 4.

batant, who has to carry on incessantly a most difficult strife, and in order to please his Leader must copy His example. He should not increase the difficulties of a faithful discharge of his office by the trials, cares, and distractions of the married state. The Lord to whom he belongs and the Church he serves must be the centre of his life and action, nor should he have any other centre of his affections. In every other relation and position man can and should be divided; he may be a husband and father, while he discharges a civil office or a profession. Only the service of the Church of the New Covenant, the care of souls which is a new thing in the world, allows no division, and will not be content with half the man. No wife and family should stand between the congregation and him to whom the Holy Ghost has entrusted it, to watch over souls and give account of them,—between the spiritual father and his children. The Lord says that the good shepherd gives his life for the sheep; and so his head and heart, time and strength, care and love, help and property, belong to them. But a husband and father owes all this, first, to his wife and children, and only what is over comes to the flock." So would he have spoken, who said of himself that he was full of tenderness for his people, and willing to impart to them not only the Gospel of God but his own life.[1]

But it was neither possible nor right, at that initial and preparatory period of the Church, that those called to the ministry should be required to practice life-long celibacy. Presbyters had to be chiefly taken from among

[1] Acts xx. 28. Heb. xiii. 17. John x. 11. 1 Thess. ii. 8.

the Jews, who were seldom unmarried, because childlessness was a reproach and misfortune among the chosen people; the few Jewish converts who were single had to be employed in distant missions. The unmarried Gentile converts were those who had avoided the burdens and ties of marriage, or been disqualified by their civil position, and were precisely the least fit for office in the Church. Moreover, the ministry had no attractions for the natural man; if a persecution broke out, the pastors were the first to be seized. There was no such run upon Church offices as left the apostles and their assistants free to choose. Paul was content with requiring the least he could, that an overseer or deacon should be the husband of one wife, and widows of one husband be chosen for deaconesses.[1] The parallel passages about widows shows that the explanation often attempted, of a prohibition only of making men living in polygamy bishops or deacons, is quite untenable. And it is obviously inconceivable that baptized Christians in apostolic communities should have been living with two or more wives at once, and allowed all rights of Church communion except the ministry. Nor did bigamy or polygamy then exist, either among the Jews or in the Roman Empire among the Heathen. There is no trace of polygamy being practised among the Jews in the whole New Testament, and it is not forbidden, for the same reason that Solon made no law against parricide, because it was not thought necessary to forbid what was unheard of.[2] In the whole

[1] 1 Kings [E.V. 1. Sam.] i. 5. Job xxiv. 21. Luke i. 25. 1 Tim. iii. 2, 12; v. 9.

[2] Justin, indeed, objects to Trypho that there were Jewish teachers,

Roman Empire it was not tolerated, but punished with deprivation of civil rights.[1]

It follows, that Paul can only be understood as saying that presbyters and deacons were to be husbands of one wife, in the same sense as widow deaconesses were to have had one husband. This was grounded on his feeling that second marriages of widowers, though allowable, were something imperfect, and would be a stumbling block in one who was to be a pattern to the community. The Jewish High Priest could only marry once, and it was a common view with Greeks and Romans, that second marriages, after the death of a consort, were inconsistent with the ideal character and dignity of marriage.[2] Paul, then, had two grounds for making this condition—first, because a presbyter must be above reproach as well among Heathen as Christians; and, therefore, he laid great stress on no occasion being given to unbelievers to speak ill of Christians. But, if what was reckoned a fault in many Heathen priests was suffered in a Christian presbyter, it would have given offence. And, next, Paul, who prizes abstinence from fleshly desires so highly that he reckons it among the

who allowed men to have five wives, *i. e.*, said it was not forbidden in the Law, and was justified by the practice of the Patriarchs; but he never says that this theory of individual teachers was put in practice. (*Opp. Ed. Otto.* ii. 442.)

[1] *Cod.* i. 5. Tit. v. 2., a Prætorian and, therefore, older law.

[2] Valerius Maximus says a second marriage was considered "legitimæ cujusdam intemperantiæ signum." The much praised laws of Charondas ordered, that one who gave his children a stepmother should hold no place in the Council. Diod. xiii. 12. Cf. Liv. x. 23. Tac. *Germ.* 19, where a single marriage is highly extolled.

noblest fruits of the Holy Ghost, and makes it a mark of a genuine Christian to have crucified the flesh with its affections and lusts, could not regard a man married a second time as a bright example of continence and pattern for imitation, as a minister of the Church should be.[1] And so this apostolic condition, of a clergyman being only once married, was always treated as an universal law in the ancient Church.[2]

It has been already said that three of the apostles, Paul, John and James, remained unmarried, while the rest, and notably Peter, were married. Of John this is universally testified. Of James there is the same tradition, so that the Ebionites for a long while honoured virginity from his example.[3] When Peter said to the Lord, "Behold we have left all and followed Thee," the answer shows that wives were included; and hence it was believed in the ancient Church, that the married apostles renounced the use of marriage in after life.[4]

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 2, ἀνεπίλημπτος. 1 Thess. iv. 12. Gal. v. 22, ἐγκράτεια. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 9, εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἐγκρατεύονται γαμησάτωσαν. [The *word* ἐγκράτεια only means self-mastery or temperance, however exercised. See *Eth. Nic.* Lib. vii. passim.—Tr.] Gal. v. 24. 1 Pet. v. 3.

[2] How Theodoret came to a different conclusion is shown in *Hippolytus and Callistus*, p. 149. [The rule against second marriages of priests still survives in the Greek Church, both Schismatic and Uniate.—Tr.]

[3] Epiphanius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Paulinus, Augustine, Cassian and Jerome, say that John was so specially favoured by Christ, for this reason. Epiphanius (p. 1045) says that James died at 96, πάρθενος. See, as to Ebionites, Epiph. p. 126.

[4] Matt. xix. 27, 29. Athanasius calls virginity ἀποστόλων καύχημα. Epiphanius (p. 491) thinks Christ meant the apostles in Matt. xix. 12. Jerome, *Apol. ad. Pam.* 21, thinks they were "vel virgines, vel post nuptias continentes," or, as he says, *Contr. Jov.* 1, 14, "relinquunt officium conjugale." So Isidore of Pelusium, *Ep.* 3, 176.

Paul's words are often quoted against it: "Have we not power to lead about a woman, a sister, as the other apostles, and the brethren of the Lord and Cephas? Or have I only and Barnabas no power to abstain from labouring?" But this does not mean that the apostles took about wives, together with children and maidens, on their missionary journeys; that after renouncing the society of their wives, while following Christ, they afterwards were accompanied by them in frequent and often distant journeys. But, as the Fathers have observed, women followed the apostles, according to a Jewish custom adopted by Christ Himself, to minister to them and facilitate their intercourse with the females of the families they visited. This could be done without arousing suspicion or surprise by those apostles who worked chiefly among the Jews, but Paul and Barnabas, who worked among the Gentiles, renounced the use of a right which would have scandalized them.[1]

The custom of binding oneself by vow to God to special religious practices, passed from Judaism into the

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 5, 6. Matt. xxvii. 55. Those who insist on these sisters being wives instead of sisters, seem to have forgotten the seventh chapter of the Epistle. For it would be strange if Paul, who there puts forward his own example of voluntary celibacy for the service of Christ, and wishes all would follow it, had said afterwards, "Have I not power to take about my wife with me?" His opponents would have simply replied, that those who have no wives cannot take them about, and that he did not remain unmarried merely to avoid being chargeable for a wife, but from a higher motive, on his own showing, viz., that it was good not to touch a woman, and that the unmarried has only the Lord to please and not his wife. He meant, therefore, that he might have taken about a "sister," and claimed support for her. So Chrys. Theod. Tertul. and Jerome understand it. Only Clem. Alex. is misled by σύζυγε, Phil. iv. 3, which he takes for wife.

Christian communities. Just as marriage in the Christian Church became indissoluble, as involving not merely a mutual engagement, but an obligation before God, so the force and meaning of a vow consisted in a man's sanctifying and securing his resolution against personal instability or change by a promise made to God.[1] Believers entered the Church with a vow at baptism; its scope was the most comprehensive and universal possible, for it implied no less than a complete self-surrender to God, a promise to make His will the guide of life. But room was left for particular vows referring to special acts or seasons, or binding to a special kind of work. Thus, Paul went to Jerusalem to accomplish a vow.[1] A vow to dedicate themselves to the Lord's ministry, and remain unmarried, was taken by deaconesses even in the time of the apostles. This is clear from Paul's solemn warning to Timothy, not to admit younger widows, who would wish to marry again from wantonness, and would thereby break their first vow and incur serious guilt and punishment:[2]

[1] Acts xviii. 18. The notion that it was Aquila who had taken a vow, though very old, is quite erroneous. The Vulgate has it, and of modern writers, Hammond, Grotius, Wieseler, Schneckenburger and Meyer. Among the ancients, Didymus and Augustine saw that Paul was meant; the practical Luke was not likely to mention the circumstance, if it concerned so subordinate a personage as Aquila. He wants to give a motive for Paul's journey to Syria and Jerusalem. Paul himself tells the Ephesians, who wished to detain him, that he must keep the feast in Jerusalem, clearly on account of his vow. Else no object for this journey would be given, whereas Luke gives motives for all Paul's other journeys. [The Vulgate does not apparently *mean* Aquila, for it gives a reference to Acts xxi. 24, and puts Aquila and Priscilla in a parenthesis. But the construction seems to require such a meaning.—Tr.]

[2] 1 Tim. v. 11, 12, *τὴν πρώτην πίστιν ἠθέτησαν.*

It may be truly said that the Christian religion is pre-eminently the religion of righteousness, in the sense that it, and it alone, respects the claim of every human idiosyncracy, condition, or need; that it never exalts one at the cost of another, but sanctifies and applies all to the service of God. To the superficial gaze of a stranger, who has no experience of its power and truth, contradictions and onesidedness appear everywhere; while the son of the house perceives its perfect harmony and comprehensiveness, which embraces the whole of life. It can exalt virginity without disparaging marriage, and not only reconcile liberty with obedience, but make obedience instrumental to liberty; it preaches without inconsistency the rightful equality of husband and wife, and the subjection of the wife to the rule of her husband.

If the doctrine of Christ was proclaimed as glad tidings for all mankind, to the female portion of the human family it was doubly so. With the Church was founded that institution, whereby woman was restored to her rightful dignity and proper social position. She is the "weaker vessel," as Peter says, and physically under the man; but in the Church she is his equal, having just the same rights of citizenship in the kingdom of grace. The husband is to love, honour and care for the wife, as his equal before God, and to make no violent or despotic use of his authority, that his "prayer may not be hindered" —or rendered unfruitful—through his unworthiness.[1]

Paul rises higher, when he makes the relation of Christ to the Church, the love of the Divine Head for His body, a type of earthly marriage, and of the pure love which

[1] 1 Pet. iii. 7.

should subsist between husband and wife. He applies to marriage the characteristics of Christ's love, and requires accordingly a sanctifying, self-sacrificing, purifying love of the husband for his wife, something widely different from sensual feeling. The man is the head, who must rule, love and spiritually quicken the woman as his own body, and both together form one whole, so that their love of each other is love of themselves, "for no man ever hated his own flesh."[1] Thus marriage is itself a Church in miniature, the germ whence springs first the household Church, then of households is composed the community, and of various communities the great edifice of the universal Church, the bride and body of Christ. And thus Christian marriage raises a man's sense of his own worth and dignity, and makes him feel that he is not simply an individual, but part of a higher and more sacred whole, joined in a covenant of which the union of the Church with her Lord is the type.

Closely connected with this restoration of woman's dignity, is the elevation of chastity to its full moral significance, through the idea of an universal priesthood. The Christian's body is a temple of God, sanctified for His service, and inhabited by the Holy Ghost; chastity is the pure, priestly feeling, which preserves the body from becoming a mere instrument of sensual desire, and hallows it to be an organ of the divine will, in the generation of children, making it a perpetual offering to God, as being united to the human nature of the Redeemer,

[1] Eph. v. 29.

and destined to be raised and glorified hereafter. For therein is shown the power and reality of a religion which masters the most vehement and unbridled of our passions, subject as it is to such terrible perversion, and easily degenerating into a deadly poison, instead of a source of life. Here Christianity gains its hardest and most beneficial victory. Dishonour of woman, contempt of marriage, celibacy and childlessness from corrupt and criminal selfishness, facility of divorce and re-marriage, unnatural sin, a public life of shamelessness, and the degradation of whole classes to be the contemptible instruments of lust,—all these moral abominations prevailed far and wide, and desolated whole provinces. The Church opposed to them her notion of chastity, her consecration of marriage, her absolute prohibition of divorce, and her praise of continence and virginity. She taught and showed that the wife is not a mere chattel of the man, an instrument for his lust or for perpetuating his family, but his equal, joined to him in a sacred and indissoluble bond. The apostles speak of sins of unchastity as wholly alien to real Christians, simply Heathenish, and belonging only to their earlier Heathen life, not even to be named among believers. Such works of darkness spring from Satan, and make the doer his slave, drawing after them curse and destruction. "Crucify the flesh, with its affections and lusts;"—"Mortify through the Spirit the deeds of the body;"—"Let every one preserve his vessel in sanctification and honour;"—"Will ye make your bodies, which are members of Christ, members of an harlot, and sin

against your own bodies?" Such are the apostolic warnings. Chastity was considered the virtue which above all gives moral strength and self-mastery to the soul, and preserves it from being made effeminate, and pressed down under the weight of the body. Nor does Christian teaching recognise in marriage love any involuntary feeling, depriving man of his liberty of will and action; such a sentiment the apostles would have called by a very different name. The married love they hold to be a duty in Christians, is a free and conscious direction of will, grounded on high religious motives, not on blind passion, and is as pure and enduring as love of friends, or children, or country. In this sense, Paul exhorts husbands to love their wives.[1]

Christian marriage, then, is the internal fusion of two human beings, so that each may supplement the other, and both be joined by mutual self-devotion in a perfect unity of life and will. Husbands and wives who feel themselves living members of Christ's body, employ that almost irresistible power, which married love gives them over each other, for mutual sanctification and improvement; for they feel as halves of each other, and the faults of either are the faults of both. The man, in whom all desire for another woman would be adultery in the heart, purifies his love for his wife from all sensuous self-seeking, and sanctifies it through higher love to Christ.[2] The man is to the woman, what Christ is to the

[1] 1 Cor. vi. 9, 15—19. Heb. ii. 16; xiii. 4. Phil. iii. 21. Col. iii. 7. 1 Thess. iv. 4, 5. Eph. v. 3, 5, 25. 1 Pet. ii. 11. Gal. v. 24. Rom. viii. 13.

[2] Matt. v. 28. 1 Cor. vii. 29.

Church; she submits to him as her head, and willingly and trustfully accepts his guidance, while they help one another and share in bearing each others joys and sorrows.

If Paul forbids women to teach in public, he says that they shall be saved through child-bearing.[1] He means that God has given to them, in place of the ministry reserved for men, another office in the Church, in the faithful discharge of which they are to work out their salvation—that of peopling the Church by bearing and training children to be citizens of God's kingdom on earth. This consecration of family life and maternal duties, exalting and purifying carnal affection and natural tenderness to the dignity of a priestly office, in bringing up and forming new members of the Church and heirs of the kingdom, is the side of marriage wherein its highest and peculiarly Christian ends are realized, and its sacramental character exhibited. Here it is the true picture of Christ's union with the Church, which He makes through baptism the mother of countless children in a holy and fruitful union. For this cause the Divine blessing is bestowed on the union of man and wife, and it is a state of grâce where Christ joins them indissolubly and the Holy Ghost specially operates; for marriage is the foundation of the Church, wherein the Spirit dwells, and the source of her continual increase. And as the seal of a special grace is impressed on the priestly state, which is indispensable for the existence and duration of the Church, so is the state of marriage placed

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 15.

under the protection and blessing of a special grace, as being dedicated to the Church, and subserving its continual growth and expansion. Christ says that God knits the marriage bond, as it is the Holy Ghost who appoints presbyters to superintend and guide the Church; both positions must be entered upon through a divine call and consecration, and with that promise and guarantee of grace from on high, without which no office in the Church can be fulfilled. And thus marriage became a link in the chain of the Church's means of grace, though no outward sign or vehicle, as of laying on hands, oil, or water, or the like, was ordained for it. Here, as in baptism and penance, there is a sanctification and cleansing through discipline and mastery of the Spirit over the animal and sinful impulses, so that children of grace may be born for God, and according to His ordinance, not children of the flesh after the will of the flesh. Marriage, again, is like confirmation, in being a consecration to a lay priesthood and a manner of fulfilling it. It is so far akin to ordination, that to enter on marriage is to enter on a state peculiarly dedicated to the service of the Church. It is a fruit of the divine Incarnation, a dispensation of the New Covenant and high privilege of the Church, that where sin is strong, healing and sustaining grace should be stronger still. And thus, what rightly and religiously used is a continual fountain of blessing, but, when misused and unbridled, a source of corruption for whole generations, is placed under the shelter and sanctifying power of an ordinance of grace, and directed to the higher end of preserving and carrying forward

the kingdom of God on earth. Only thus is marriage really what the apostle calls it, a sacred copy of the divine archetype, Christ's union with the Church. For, as that union was only possible through His cleansing His chosen bride in the laver of baptism, and thus making the act of marriage an act of purification, so must the divine antitype be qualified to be a means of cleansing and sanctification.[1]

Christ and His apostles said nothing of the first requisite of marriage,—monogamy, because polygamy did not occur to them as possible. There was no need to command what the law and custom of the Pagan Empire secured, and what Christians would have degraded themselves among the Heathen by not observing. The New Testament accordingly contains no word of prohibition against bigamy or polygamy. So much the more needful was it to announce, as a radical principle of the new Church, that marriage was indissoluble, and no divorce, with permission to re-marry, admissible. Christ spoke four times of this, according to the three first Evangelists. The law of Moses recognised as an existing custom the husband's right to separate from his wife and marry another, and ordered a writing of divorce to be given to the rejected wife. There was no interposition of others, or sentence of a court: the man acted wholly for himself, and only his right was allowed—the wife could not separate herself. By the time of the last prophets the disorder of frequent divorces must have greatly gained ground, for Malachi denounces it as the cause of God's

[1] Eph. v. 26.

displeasure against the offerings of Israel: "The Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, with whom thou hast dealt unfaithfully; yet she is thy partner and the wife of thy covenant."[1] That it was no better at the time of Christ, is clear, from the contest between the two schools of Hillel and Shammai,—the former inferring, from the generality of the expression in the Law, "if she no longer please him," the man's absolute right to repudiate his wife for the most trivial cause, or from mere fancy; while the latter maintained, that two words added by the lawgiver limited the permission to cases where there was some evidence of the wife's unfaithfulness. Any Jew could act on the laxer theory of Hillel; and Josephus, who was of priestly family, relates that his first wife left him, and he repudiated the second, who had borne him three children, when her conduct displeased him, in order to take a third.[2]

In the Sermon on the Mount, where He declared the perfect fulfilment of the law to be the end of His mission and the condition of belonging to His kingdom, Christ pronounced against the writing of divorce, saying, that whoever dismissed his wife, unless on account of fornication, caused her (by marrying another) to commit adultery; and that whoever married such an one, committed adultery. According to the same Evangelist, He repeated this saying, when the Pharisees, desiring to implicate Him in a contradiction either to the Law or to their interpretation of it, asked Him whether (as the school of Hillel taught) it was allowable to put away

[1] Mal. ii. 14. Cf. Mic. ii. 9. [2] Jos. *Vit.* 75, 76.

one's wife for every cause? In His answer, He passed beyond the controversies of the schools and even the Pharisaic circle of ideas, which kept to the irrevocable liberty of divorce, declaring marriage, according to God's original institution, to be so strong and indissoluble a bond, that it superseded every other, even that of parents and children; and that every divorce, with one exception, was adultery, and led to adultery.[1]

A teaching so sharply and decisively antagonistic to prevalent Jewish notions startled the disciples also, and they asked Him privately about it, when He declared every dissolution of the marriage bond, without exception, to be unlawful. On another occasion, only mentioned by Luke, He said the same before the Pharisees. He wanted to show the Jews, by an example, how the law would be fulfilled in His kingdom, by being brought back to its purest and most ideal forms in the utmost strictness and perfection. As a test of this, He laid down the fundamental principle, that no man can serve two masters,—God and mammon; and this elicited the mockery of the covetous Pharisees. They meant that, in the Law, the possession of riches, which Jesus called the service of mammon, was so far from being forbidden, that earthly blessings were promised by God to the pious. He replied, that such indeed was the old dispensation of the Law, which lasted to the time of John, and to obey it required no "violence" or moral effort and self-denial; men found themselves born in it, and could serve God and mammon while still sons of Abra-

[1] Matt. v. 31, 32; xix. 4—9.

ham. But with John began a new epoch, and the setting up of God's kingdom on earth was preached: to enter it, is difficult; and a share in it must be won by toil and combat. There the law is taught and practised, not as before John, but in its completeness. Heaven and earth shall pass away, before the least particle shall be taken from the integrity of that law, which is a revelation of the holiness of God, in His new kingdom. And then, in order to illustrate the setting up of that Divine Law in its primeval purity—no more to be changed or disturbed by human perversity—Christ held up before them the absolute indissolubility of marriage to be observed in His kingdom, where the previous permission of divorce would be withdrawn. And lastly, Paul, premising that it is not his precept, but the Lord's, bids the Corinthians treat marriage as a relation that can never be dissolved.[1]

If we combine the teachings of Christ on this question, these four statements occur. First: marriage rests on a divine institution, dating from the beginning of the human race; God ordained it for the life-long and indissoluble fusion of two persons into one moral and religious personality, and a man who enters on that state must subject his free will to this divine appointment; for what is in every case joined together by God, it is not right or possible for man to put asunder. Secondly: the Mosaic permission of a writing of divorce is an after-thought, and was conceded as a temporary dispensation on account of the Jews' hardness of heart,

[1] Mark x. 11, 12. Luke xvi. 18. 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11.

and to preclude worse offences, as secret murder and the like. "From the beginning it was not so." Thirdly: this temporary permission of divorce is now at an end, for the original dignity and holiness of marriage is restored in the Church to its proper place; and there can be no more talk of concession to the hardness of men's hearts, since the Incarnation has opened a fresh fountain of divine strength for believers. The very object for which the Church was founded is to supply abundant means for overcoming the hardness and frailty of man's nature, and to fulfil the ancient prophecy, that God will give His people a new, fleshly heart, instead of their hard and stony heart. Those who are determined to remain obdurate, and will not be healed, cannot belong to the community of the redeemed, and must leave the Church. Fourthly: whoever puts away his wife, and takes another, is doubly or trebly guilty;—he commits adultery against his wife, he causes her to commit adultery by marrying another, and he is responsible for the adultery of whoever marries her.[1]

Three witnesses, Mark, Luke and Paul, make the Lord declare marriage absolutely indissoluble; while one, Matthew, twice makes Him add the limitation, "except for cause of fornication." Two of the statements in Mark and Luke are not found in Matthew, viz., the explanation given to the disciples in the house, and the illustration before the Pharisees of the difference between the purity and perfection of the law in the Church, and its former meaning and observance. But

[1] Ezek. xxxvi. 26. Jer. xxxi. 33. Mark x. 11. Matt. xix. 9.

Matthew and Mark agree in their account of the answer given to the Pharisees before that private explanation to the disciples, only that Matthew inserts the exception and Mark omits it. It follows that Christ said twice—once in the Sermon on the Mount, once to the Pharisees—"no divorce except for fornication," and as often, especially in answering His disciples, that marriage was absolutely indissoluble. And, further, Mark must have had some ground for omitting the limitation in Matthew; and Paul knew only of an absolute prohibition of any dissolution of the marriage bond, or, if he did know of the exception given in Matthew, did not think it applicable to those he was concerned with, or did not consider it to affect the general rule.

Matthew is known to have written in Aramaic for the Jews of Palestine, and accordingly what is conspicuous in his Gospel is the local colouring, the Jewish line of thought, the connection of Christianity and Judaism, while Mark and Luke wrote for Gentile converts. Hence, Mark says, that Christ declared a woman who left her husband and married another, according to Heathen custom, an adulteress, while Matthew omits this, as being a thing unheard of among the Jews. It is the reverse with the exception about fornication. Christ had said that, only in one case, when a man discovers that his wife has deceived him, and was unchaste before marriage so that he has married one not a maid, he may give her a writing of divorce and put her away. That this is His meaning appears from the word used, (πορνεία), which is always applied to the sin of an un-

married person, not to unfaithfulness in a wife, which is constantly described by another word (μοιχεία) both in the Old and New Testament. The law punished with stoning a bride who professed to be a virgin and was not. With a people who had so strong a feeling of jealousy as the Jews about a bride's virginity, deceit in the matter seemed deserving of death; and if the public conviction and execution ordered by the law did not actually take place—of which no example is known—it was natural and in order, for a man who discovered such treachery to send back the woman who had been disgraced and had dishonoured him to her parents, with a writing of divorce after the Mosaic form.[1] If the strict law survived the period of the Captivity, it was certainly modified in practice, since the Jews had lived among Greeks and under Greek rule, for to stone a girl who had been seduced would appear to Greeks an unpardon-

[1] Michaelis (*Mos. Recht.* sect. 93, vol. ii. p. 118, *der Bieler Ed.*) observes, that the Jews could only have understood Christ to mean that a man was justified in divorcing his wife, if he discovered at once that she had deceived him and had been unchaste before marriage. He contradicts himself, when he adds that the Jews would have understood sin after marriage to be included in His words, for they could not with any reason have attached two wholly different meanings to the same word. The last commentator on Deuteronomy, F. W. Schultz, (Berlin 1859, p. 163), thinks "the Lord's saying, Matt. v. 32, is wide enough to recognise our case also (that of previous seduction) as a ground of divorce." So, too, Stier. (*Reden Jesu.* i. 134, 2nd Ed.) "The word extends further and does not exclude unchastity before marriage." It is in truth so little excluded that it is the only thing meant. The fiery jealousy of the Jews, which could not be appeased with gifts, is mentioned, Prov. vi. 34, 35. Cf. Jahn *Bibl. Archæologic* ii. 254, as to the testimony of travellers, and Jahn i. *c. Mich. Mos. Recht.* Biel. 1777, v. 217 sqq.

able abomination and barbarity. The milder practice of divorce would first prevail in Galilee, where Christ taught, which since the time of the Maccabees had been called "Galilee of the Gentiles," and had a mixed population of Greeks and Syrians. Hence Joseph wanted to dismiss Mary, his betrothed, privately, when found to be pregnant, whether with or without the Mosaic form.[1] By the law she was liable to death. In such cases of divorce there was properly no dissolving of the matrimonial bond, for it was a recognised condition of every marriage by the Law that the bride should be a maid, and deception in a point so essential to Oriental notions invalidated the whole act, for in such a case the man's consent could not be supposed. It was fair that the man should thus divorce a girl he would never have married had he known of her sin, and he showed forbearance in not getting her put to death. And when Christ added for the Jews, who could only thus understand Him, this one exception, where divorce was allowable, His rule, that man may not sever what God has joined, remained wholly unaffected. God only binds those who consent to be bound. And this explains why on other occasions, and especially in speaking to His disciples on the future observance of the principle of indissolubility in His Church, Christ did not name this exception. He omitted it, when not referring to the Jewish institution of divorce, but proclaiming the great and binding rule for Jewish and Gentile converts alike, that all dissolving of marriages is

[1] 1 Macc. v. 15. Matt. iv. 15; i. 19.

destroying a work of God, and, therefore, absolutely forbidden. It is clear, again, how Mark, in a narrative designed for Gentile converts, could omit what Matthew had said of the exceptional case mentioned by Christ, as something only concerning the Jews and not affecting the general question of the indissolubility of marriage.

But that expression of the Lord, "except for the cause of fornication," has been often, and especially of late, understood of conjugal infidelity; and the doctrine has been attributed to Him, that, while marriage is, indeed, indissoluble as a Divine institution, it is dissoluble, or is *ipso facto* dissolved, by unfaithfulness on either side or both, in which case divorce and re-marriage is allowable. To support this interpretation, the theory has been devised that adultery destroys the essence of marriage, that such a crime on either side *ipso facto* dissolves it, so that the formal divorce and subsequent marriage is the mere authentication and rightful consequences of an accomplished fact.

This interpretation goes against language, history, and logic. The language will not bear it, for Christ carefully distinguishes, as is done everywhere in Scripture, between the two words, one (πορνεία) referring to unchastity in the single, the other (μοιχεία) to unfaithfulness in the married, or what is properly called adultery. The view, that the former term is a generic one for all kinds of carnal sin, including breach of matrimonial fidelity as a species, is erroneous, and only devised to meet this case. It is inconceivable that Christ, while

engaged in inculcating the inviolable sanctity of the marriage bond, and reducing the possibilities of divorce within the narrowest limits, should have used in a crucial statement an ambiguous word, leaving ample scope to those desirous of divorce, when just afterwards He twice uses the proper word.[1]

Moreover, if by "fornication," Matthew means adultery, there would be a contradiction very difficult to explain between him and Mark, Luke, and Paul; and hence hypotheses have been adopted which throw grave suspicion on the historical fidelity and accuracy of the Scripture writers.[2] For it makes an immense difference both in practice and theory whether Christ said, "Marriage can never be rightly dissolved in the Church, for God has sealed it and placed the act of human consent beyond possibility of lawful change;" or whether He said, "Marriage, indeed, is a work of God, and must not be capriciously or lightly disturbed by man for this or that cause; still there are frequent cases—those of adultery, namely,—

[1] Tholuck rightly observes (*Bergpredigt.* 4th Ed. p. 247), "The *Lexicon* meaning of the word has been variously widened in the interest of an extension of divorce." But, like nearly all his co-religionists, he has done this himself, and without bringing any proof. He quotes Stier's explanation, "every serious disturbance of conjugal union," and Marheineke's, "whatever *ipso facto* annihilates marriage;" so that no term could be more elastic than πορνεία. Yet no one adheres to *adulterium* only; one or more causes are always added. Most recently, Carlblom (*Uber Ehesch. in der. Dorp. Zeitschr. für Theol.* 1859, p. 524), remarks, "At present, I think, we shall find no commentator or moralist who confidently and consistently demands that πορνεία be made the sole legal ground of divorce."

[2] So e. g. Julius Müller (*Uber Ehesch.* Berlin, 1855, p. 3) says, "The Evangelical tradition may easily have lost the clause."

where the one party may separate from the other and marry again. When either has sinned against the holiness of this sacred bond, the other may wholly and finally sever it by a new marriage." In the former case, every one would marry with the consciousness that no human caprice could ever change the relationship on which he was entering. In the latter case, the married person would know from the first, and all along, that however firm his own determination, it lay in the power of the other party to dissolve the tie. And if Christ taught that marriage could be dissolved by adultery, Mark, Luke, and Paul withheld this important fact from their readers, and misled them by misrepresenting the case; so that the Churches had first to learn the truth from the Greek translation of Matthew, and thence discovered that Paul had, to say the least, expressed himself very inaccurately, in repeatedly describing marriage as a relation that could only be dissolved by death.

Christ could the less assign to men the right of divorcing their wives for adultery, in the Sermon on the Mount, and in His answer to the Pharisees, because the adulteress was still legally punishable with death.[1] Had any relaxation of the law come into vogue, we should have found some trace of a substituted penalty; for even by

[1] F. W. Schulz, in his Explanation of Deuteronomy (p. 579) has remarked, what is often forgotten, that in the disputes between the schools of Hillel and Schammai about the sense of the Mosaic *ervat dabar* there could be no reference to adultery, for that was punished with death.

Roman and Athenian law a man could kill his wife, if caught in the act, and so could her father, according to the new law of Augustus; else she was banished to an island.[1] The Romans had certainly not forced their jurisprudence and penal code on the Jews, even when limiting their right of life and death;[2] and nobody will believe that an ordinary Jewess, convicted of adultery, was banished to an island. In fact, the case of the woman taken in adultery, whom the Pharisees brought to Christ, clearly implies that the Mosaic punishment continued in full force, for the Pharisees grounded on it their attempt to lead Him into saying something that might supply matter for an accusation of despising the Law.[3] They knew His gentleness and condescension to the erring, and that He was accounted a friend of sinners, who ate and drank with them, and said He had come for their sake; He had not repudiated even so notorious a woman as Mary Magdalene; and so they counted on His advocating mercy to this woman, but that could only serve as a weapon against Him, if the legal punishment still held good.[4]

[1] Schol. Cruq. ad Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7, 61. Paull. ii. 26, 14.

[2] See Second Appendix at end of vol. ii.

[3] A betrothed maiden, who let herself be seduced, was to be stoned, but nothing is said in the Law of putting to death a married woman. Probably the penalty was the same. The later Talmud (Sanhed. f. 51, 2), which says "adultera, cum nupta, strangulanda, cum desponsata lapidanda," is of no weight here.

[4] Matt. xi. 19. Mark ii. 16, 17. In the second appendix, I think I have proved that the Romans had not then deprived the Jewish courts of power of life and death; but even so, it would only follow that the Jews required the procurator's leave to hold a court and carry out its

How in such matters were Christians out of Judæa situated in this respect during the apostolic and subsequent period? By the Julian law, the husband or father must prosecute the unfaithful wife within a fixed time. If the husband married again without having done this, he was guilty of bigamy, and not only lost civil rights, but, by the Julian law, incurred the penalty of rape, which, for persons of a lower class, was scourging and banishment; while a woman who separated herself from her husband on account of his adultery, and married again, was punished as an adulteress. But a Christian, who brought his wife before the civil courts, sinned against the good name of the community and the apostolic prohibition of going to law before Gentile courts.[1] If he divorced his wife on any other pretext, he was anyhow considered an offender against the sanctity of marriage, and would be excluded from communion. And Christians were convinced by the Lord's words, that for the innocent party to re-marry was a grave offence, as the oldest evidence on the point we possess of post apostolic date testifies,—that of Hermas.

Nor is it a logical view, that Christ meant in such

sentence, and ordinarily such leave would be granted. Therefore Meyer's view is untenable (*Com. in Ev. Joh.* 2nd Ed. p. 220), that the Pharisees meant to accuse Christ before the Roman courts, if He decided for stoning, according to the law of Moses. He might have decided by the letter of the law without saying a word of its execution, simply saying what the Pharisees said of Him afterwards, "We have a law, and by our law He ought to die," when, far from seeking to invade the rights of Roman authorities, they tried to thrust both judgment and execution upon them.

[1] Instit. iv. 18, 4. Paull. ii. 26, 13. 1 Cor. vi. 1.

cases to leave to the guiltless party only the option of re-marriage. For His teaching would be involved in the reproach of a strange contradiction. He had represented the three persons concerned as guilty of adultery in a case of divorce and re-marriage, the husband who re-married, the divorced wife, and the man who married her.[1] But if He also taught that marriage was actually annulled by adultery, and that at least the innocent party might marry again, then a woman divorced for any *other* cause than adultery might take a new husband without either being guilty of sin, if her former husband had married again, and thereby committed adultery. The words of Christ are only intelligible, when we distinguish πορνεία from adultery. For it will not be seriously maintained that, while placing the rights of husband and wife on an equality, and declaring divorce on either side to involve adultery, He also taught that a man who divorced an adulterous wife might marry again, but that a wife divorced by an adulterous husband, who had married again, must remain single and defenceless all her life, and consider herself still bound to him.

In course of time the Church had to proclaim that there could be no true marriage, except between Christians, and to refuse consent to an union between a Christian and a Jew or Heathen. But in the apostolic age such mixed marriages were of course frequent, and to such cases the strict rule of indissolubility could not

[1] Properly four persons; for the woman who marries the divorced man is clearly included by implication in the guilt of adultery.

be applied. The unbelieving consort, who was outside the Church and its influences, could not be treated as subject to a divine law only given for the Church. The principle of "hardness of heart" came in. Such a half Christian marriage could be no type of Christ's union with the Church. The Christian partner, however, could do nothing to dissolve it; but if the other refused to maintain the marriage on account of religion, or made apostasy a condition of doing so, the case was changed. In such a case, the apostle says, a Christian is not enslaved, or bound to force himself on a Heathen consort who insults his faith and maltreats him for its sake.[1] Christians are called by God to a service of peace, not of constant strife; and if the unbelieving consort separates, the believing one is also free. But where the Heathen partner is not so hostile, he and the children are sanctified by being brought under the domestic influence of Christian holiness, and indirectly under that of the Church, though not members of it.

[1] 1 Cor. vii. 15, 16.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL RELATIONS

The Christian idea of poverty and riches was one of those new views radically opposed to mens' customary notions. There was no class so displeased by what Christ said as the rich. He calls wealth "Mammon," a god whom men worship, and whose service is incompatible with that of God. A camel will sooner go through a needle's eye, than a rich man enter into the kingdom of God. "Woe unto you rich, for ye have your consolation." And the parable of Lazarus and the rich man who, without being vicious, used his wealth for his own enjoyment, harmonise with these stern sayings. He taught that it was hard to be rich and not set one's heart on riches; to possess much, and not be possessed by it. There is a power of deceitfulness in riches, and none can enter the kingdom of heaven, who have not either really renounced their wealth and become poor, or become such inwardly by diverting their mind from the lust and enjoyment of wealth. For "where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." Christianity

could only recognise those wealthy men who acted as stewards of God, and possessed as not possessing. For, as Paul says, covetousness and insatiable greed of gain is the root of all evil, and to wish to become rich leads to destruction.[1]

The Christian idea was that man is only the steward of earthly goods, which are not an end, but a means for advancing the service of God and good of one's neighbour, and for the use of which an account must be given. It is a leading thought with Paul also, that goods and possessions are no worthy object of a Christian's aim, for they only avail for this passing earthly life, the dwelling-place we must soon leave before we have got well at home there; "Having food and clothing, we shall be content therewith."[2]

It was to be expected that Christian teaching would appear peculiarly repulsive and uncongenial to the wealthy, and especially to classes devoted to the pursuit of gain. The Founder of Christianity had not where to lay His head in life, and hung in death naked on a cross. He preached His gospel chiefly for the poor, and they were far readier to receive it than the rich. "The common people heard Him gladly." So in the apostles' time: "Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble (are called); but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to put to shame the wise, and the weak things of the world to

[1] Matt. vi. 21, 24; xiii. 22; xix. 23, 24. Luke vi. 24; xvi. 13. 1 Tim. vi. 9, 10.

[2] 1 Tim. vi. 8.

put to shame the strong."[1] In fact, nearly all the first converts were from the poorer and humbler classes. The only known exceptions are Nicodemus, Joseph, Sergius Paulus, Dionysius the Areopagite, Apollos, and Paul himself. That was the order of Christianity;—first came the poor, the ignorant and uneducated, slaves and the very lowest classes; gradually, and after a long interval, the powerful, the wise, the rich, were won by them, or rather were overcome, and compelled to follow the general movement.

Among all nations, where there was a large slave population, manual labour, especially in industrial production and mechanical trades, was looked down upon; it was left to slaves, and in many places to women, and thence came to be held unworthy of free men. Every Greek and Roman citizen had a certain claim to be idle. It was counted honourable to shrink from labour and live at the public expense. The Christian Church produced and fostered a very different view. The old command given to the first man, "In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread," was held to apply to all Christians, and regarded as something they had in common with Christ and His Father, who ever work; it was remembered that Christ came to minister, and to make His humble ministry a pattern for His disciples. Paul not only exhorted every man to work with his hands, primarily indeed, because the majority of Thessalonian Christians lived by manual work; but he added, that he who would not work should not eat.

[1] Matt. xi. 5. Luke iv. 18. Mark xii. 37. 1 Cor. i. 26, 27.

And this involves the general principle, that every one is bound to follow some active calling, for the only difference recognised by the Church was, that one man had his particular sphere of labour fixed for him by circumstances, while another was free to choose for himself. The Church first taught men to realize the great importance of time, and that no moment of it was given to be wasted, since Christian doctrine showed that time was for the sake of eternity, that every moment had a bearing on eternity, and that it was a Christian's duty to master it, and seize every opportunity of profitable work. It was to show the close connection between care for souls and hard bodily labour, each supplementing and giving effect to the other, that Paul combined working at a trade with his high apostolic vocation. The man who had day and night "the care of all the Churches," and whose Epistles are monuments of intense labour of mind, found time and strength to make carpets and tent covers. He added a further motive for Christian labour, that we procure means thereby for relieving the necessity of others.[1]

There was no formal community of goods and abolition of private property in the first Church at Jerusalem. There was a common purse for supporting those in want, and many sold their property and put the proceeds into it. But every one was free to keep his property, and the house possessed by Mary, the mother

[1] Gen. iii. 19. John v. 17; xiii. 15. Matt. xx. 28. 1 Thess. iv. 11. 2 Thess. iii. 10. Col. iv. 5. Eph. v. 16; iv. 28.

of Mark, at Jerusalem, is mentioned. Nor was the distinction between wealth and poverty altogether removed even there, and in those first years. Christians were well aware that a thorough community of goods was impracticable on a large scale, and for a continuance. But so urgently had Christ recommended active love of one's neighbour, that there was no need of formal community of goods in the apostolic Churches. It is a theme constantly recurring in His discourses and teaching, "Give, and it shall be given to you"—"What ye do to the least, that ye do to Me." Acts of mercy to the suffering, done or omitted, were to be the standard of acceptance or rejection at the last judgment. To the Pharisees, who attached so high a value to the ceremonial washings of vessels, He said, "Give alms of what they contain, and behold, all things are clean to you." He bade the rich youth, if he would be perfect, sell all that he had, give the price to the poor, and follow Him. Brotherly love is the great, new commandment He left His disciples, and the badge they are to be known by. He does not put first the duty of helping the poor and suffering, but teaches that love of God and love of our brother, as its necessary effect, is the supreme law and dominant power of life. "He that hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother in need, and closeth his bowels against him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?"[1]

James calls love of our neighbour a "royal law," and

[1] Acts xii. 12. Matt. xxv. 34 sqq. Luke xi. 41. John xv. 17; xiii. 34, 35. 1 John iii. 17.

makes true worship consist in visiting orphans and widows in their affliction, and keeping oneself unspotted from the world. With prophetic wrath he denounces impending judgment on the rich, who are unmerciful; their injustice cries to heaven for vengeance, and their treasures, used for wanton enjoyment, shall become a corroding fire. The whole first Epistle of John is like a commentary on that saying of Christ about brotherly love being a sure sign of His true disciples. He makes that love the crown of the Christian life, and the token that believers dwell no more in darkness, but in the divine light. He recognises no intermediate state; our relation to our brethren is either that of love, ready to sacrifice itself; or of hatred, which under circumstances would become murderous. He that loves his brother can always approach God, and reckon on being heard by Him. But Paul, with his vigorous eloquence, and in various ways, is the chief panegyrist of active charity, commending it in all its forms, and ever referring it to its pure source. And in order that it may ever flow back to its fountain, the love of God, he so often urges mutual intercession. But he insists on the possibility of doing works of mercy and benevolence without having true love, in which case such works are without blessing or profit; and he counts up the characteristics of true love, to draw a picture of it as the fruitful mother of all virtues.[1]

That love must indeed have been powerful in the apostolic churches, or else the welding together of such

[1] James ii. 8; i. 27; v. 1—6. 1 John iii. 11—18. Rom. xii. 10—13. Gal. vi. 9 sqq. 1 Cor. xiii.

unlike and antagonistic elements as Jew and Gentile, free and slave, poor and rich, educated and ignorant, then were, would have been impossible. Indeed, in every small and isolated sect, the sense of fellowship and desire to help each other is sure to be strong; the spirit of sect secures that, and thousands of Heathen would only see a sect in the Church, regarded from that side; moreover, Christians were told by the apostle to do good first to those of the household of faith.[1] But at the same time, Christians were to oppose decisively, and with a large-hearted love, like the sun that shines upon all men, the jealous, national misanthropy displayed by Jews towards Gentiles; they were to show by acts of universal charity, that they were His disciples who had uttered that saying, new and unknown in the world, "God is Love,"—to show that saying to be the seal and motto of their communion.

Christians here were in a worse position than Jews, whose strongly-developed commercial spirit and unwearied industry in acquisition were constantly bringing them into intercourse with the Heathen, and plunging them into the thick of popular life, and whose national religion was sufficiently recognised by law to secure them in the courts against anything offensive to their conscience in taking oaths and similar matters. But the law gave no such protection to the first Christians, and it is not too much to say that their condition could hardly possibly have been worse. All the incidents of public and social life, both civil and popular, were tho-

[1] Gal. vi. 10.

roughly interpenetrated by Heathen customs, and coloured by the prevalent worship; its symbols met the Christian at every step, and he was often entangled in religious acts before he recollected himself, or could draw back. If he really wished to keep pure from all contact with it, he had almost to confine himself within the four walls of his house. But Christians felt that they were the salt of the earth, the City set upon a hill, that they must let the light of their faith and life shine before the Gentiles, and that every one in his own sphere was called upon to care for the enlargement of the Church. And this constrained them to mix with the Heathen, however great the danger to their souls in the midst of so many corruptions.

The desire of a Gentile convert to separate entirely from all he had known and been connected with before, must often at first have been overpowering, and over the very cradle of the Church was uttered the reproach of hating the human race. Years had to pass away before Christians could convince the Heathen by their deeds, that they not only lived in society, but stretched out a helping hand to the poor and suffering, without distinction of race or creed. And this was the less credited, because their secret assemblies, often held at night, combined with their shyness and anxiety, and the charges made by Jews against them, had led the Heathen from the very first to say that they indulged criminal lusts in secret, whence Peter observes, "The Gentiles speak against you as evil doers."[1]

[1] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44. 1 Pet. ii. 12.

Yet Christianity had the power and the means of softening and changing this hostile feeling. It not only prompted men to deeds of neighbourly help and charity, but inspired them with a spirit of regard and tenderness which ennobled social life, but which could only originate and prevail where the inborn dignity of man, and the full right of personality to be treated as an end in itself, and not as a mere chattel, was recognised. In the widest sense, and without any exception, Christians were bidden to "honour all men," not only those worthy of special honour, but every one, simply *because* he is a man, because he is created after God's image, and is an object of His love, because he belongs to that world God loved so well, that He gave His only Son for it. That is the distinctive teaching proclaimed by Christianity alone, that every human being, as bearing the stamp of a Divine creation, has a right to be honoured by his fellow man. All are called to salvation, and, therefore, all are to be prayed for.[1] And thus, while Christian doctrine exhibited so prominently the deep fall and common sinfulness of the race, it yet led to a more favourable judgment of mankind as a whole.[2] A dark and discontented disdain and contempt of man was utterly alien to the Christian spirit, which rather sought out what was good in every man, in spite of the repulsive evil which disguised it.[2]

The apostles went further, and wished every one to look on his own faults and his neighbours' excellences, "esteeming others better than themselves." And here

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 17. 1 Tim. ii. 4.

[2] [See *Christian Year*, Second Sunday after Trinity.—Tr.]

Christ's religion was in sharp contrast with Heathen wisdom and morality. Bias used to say that the mass of men were evil, and Aristotle reckons, among the attributes of his ideal character, the high-souled man, that he is open in his hatred and his love, and despises others. In the later, Stoic, philosophy this view was deepened, and the more earnest spirits spoke out the most clearly, whether in anger or in sorrow, their contempt of men, as did Tacitus and Seneca. Lucian professes his hatred for the great majority of mankind, who are either deceivers or deceived.[1] And how contemptuously the Pharisees spoke of their own nation! "This rabble that knoweth not the law, is cursed."[2] With Heathen moralists, this was the natural result of aiming at virtue, for they had always a sharper and quicker eye for evil than for good, and it was part of their virtue to hate evil and evil men. The specially Christian virtues of humility and love, which alone could counteract this, were wanting.

There was the more need for urging on Christians the duty of humility, and of honouring all men, because the apostles were wont to paint in such strong colours their high privileges above the rest of the world. It was said of them, "Ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people." Paul says they needed a special enlightenment, to comprehend their high and glorious privileges; and treats them as spiritual men, who judge all things and are judged of no man.

[1] Diog. Laert. i. 5, 88. *Eth. Nic.* iv. 4. Piscator 20, 111, 151, Lehmann. [2] John vii. 49.

But these high representations of their dignity are accompanied by the knowledge and admonition that all is undeserved grace; and that humility, the most precious and peculiar virtue of a Christian, makes him bow, not only before God, but before men, and, like his Lord, prefer serving others to being served.[1]

Hence arose an internal incompatibility between Christianity and slavery. In proportion as it gained ascendancy, and influenced and remoulded social relations, slavish bondage, in its various forms, was sure to be gradually put down. Still no apostle required or recommended its abolition, even within the narrow circle of the Christian communities, although they certainly were not blind to its evil effects on a large scale. Paul advised converted slaves not to seek for emancipation. This advice, of course, implied the condition of their not being hindered from discharging their sacred duties, or compelled to do anything sinful. And it must be remembered that the condition of freed men was often worse than that of slaves. They found themselves left suddenly without other means of support than the precarious proceeds of their labour, and exposed in case of sickness to the most utter want. Paul may have seen in the large cities, freed men, now become "clients," cringing at the doors of their wealthy patrons to beg for the morning *sportula;* and he would fear their often becoming a burden to communities chiefly consisting of poor. So he contented himself with pointing the attention of slaves to their inward liberty, as freed men of

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 9; v. 5. Eph. i. 18. 1 Cor. ii. 15.

Christ, and to the absence, in the Church without, of all distinction between slave and free, as between Jew and Gentile. He shows how serving was ennobled by Christ, who appeared on earth in the form of a slave, had declared all rank and authority among Christians to be a service, and all who ruled in His Church to be the servants of others, and, finally, had given an example to His disciples by performing the slave's office of washing their feet.[1]

It is clear, from a deeper view even of the apostolic age, that the Christian Church was destined to become the school for educating men in true civil freedom, the very notion and meaning of which did not exist in the world before Christ; that freedom, namely, which rests on a recognition of the equality of other mens' rights, and on individual dignity and independence. What the

[1] Juv. i. 95; iii. 249. Martial iii. 7, 14; xiv. 125. Phil. ii. 7. Matt. xx. 26. 1 Cor. vii. 21. This is confessedly one of the most perplexing passages in the N. T., and every one, however familiar with the context, will have a difficulty in deciding between the two methods of interpretation, whether to understand with μᾶλλον χρῆσαι, τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ, or τῇ δουλείᾳ. Three grounds appear to me decisive for the meaning adopted in the text.—(1) the difficulty of understanding ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ, v. 21, in any way except "even if you were able to become free, &c.;"—(2) the authority of the Greek Fathers;—(3) the injunction repeated, v. 24, for every one to remain where he was, which is unmeaning if the contrary advice had been just given to slaves. The words of v. 23, which are urged, *e. g.*, by Olshausen, for the opposite meaning, only refer to what has gone just before; Paul had said that he who was called free was a servant of Christ and should not *place himself* in a position of slavery or dependence, as the helpless poor often did, ["*Become* not slaves of men," not, "*be* not," as in E. V.—TR.] Thus the advice given to both classes follows the same rule.

Heathen world called freedom rested on the proportionate oppression and degradation of the great majority for the benefit of certain classes and citizens, who sought and found the freedom they desired in the absence of monarchy, and in a democratic or aristocratic form of republic. Among the civilised peoples of the time before Christ only the Jews had any idea and appreciation of liberty; and they had it very imperfectly, both from being unable or unwilling to dispense with slaves, and because their monarchy, notwithstanding the counteracting influence of a strongly organised priesthood, degenerated too readily into a despotism, as was the case with the Asmoneans who were supported by foreign mercenaries. And thus true liberty was first brought into the world with and by Christianity,—that right of self-determination whereby man, while equally recognising and respecting the freedom of others, and far from egotistically using them as mere tools for his own use or enjoyment, follows his own judgment and will, and not another's, in the whole region of human action that lies under the control of conscience.

But this freedom is limited by conditions unpleasing to the natural and not religious man, who, while ruled by his appetites and passions, is in continual conflict with the rights and interests of others, and with right and morality generally, and the powers that guard them. He is sure to want to increase his power and influence, and to domineer over others, in order to compel them to serve his ends and desires. What he wants is not freedom, which would belong equally to others, but arbitrary

power for himself alone, or in alliance with those who share his views and interests. The true sense of freedom could only be created by a religion, which taught and enabled men to make God's will and law their own, and wrote it on their heart and mind, as the supreme law of life, that God is over all, and that they must love their neighbours as themselves; a religion, which subdued all selfish opposition to God's will on earth, and to the dignity and equality of other men. There is no true freedom, but for him who has become the servant of God.

And thus, both individuals and nations had to be educated by the Christian Church for freedom. Christian teaching about the brotherhood and equality of men, the dignity of women, the holiness of the family, and the duty of self-denial, and of a right use of earthly goods, had to be ingrained into men's blood, and a corresponding tone of public opinion and custom grow up and prevail, before true civil freedom and equality before the law could be fully realised. For that, centuries were needed; but we see in the New Testament the beginnings of the great process of training and education.

Christ said once to the Pharisees, who were greedy and proud of freedom, "If you abide in My word, the truth shall make you free." They were offended; for this implied that they were not free, and needed deliverance from slavery. "We are Abraham's seed, and were never slaves of any man," they replied. They were unwilling even to admit the fact, that the yoke of Roman domination really pressed on them. Christ showed

them, by his reply, that they needed above all deliverance from the bondage of sin; that they were servants, not sons and heirs, and would be cast out of their father's house—the divine institution for salvation; they could only become really free by the Son making them free—only attain, through moral, to civil and national, freedom. The apostles also laboured to arouse in believers a sense of their Christian dignity and freedom. They told them that they were a chosen generation, who, from being strangers, were become citizens and members of the family in the divine kingdom; called by Christ to freedom, children of light, whose limbs were members of Christ, and their bodies temples of the Holy Ghost. They were to regard themselves as God's dearly-bought property and servants, purchased back by their rightful lord, and thereby excluded from any other service than that of free and loving obedience to His whole law and will.[1]

This was the freedom the apostles so often spoke of. Christianity was a law of freedom: where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, but a liberty which must not be made a cloke for malice.[2] Thus, the only true liberty, in the apostolical sense, and the condition of every other, was the right and capacity of following no will but that of God in matters of conscience,—a redemption from the yoke of sin. And while Christians were thus being educated to true freedom in the Church, they

[1] John viii. 31 sq. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 16. Eph. ii. 19; v. 8. Gal. v. 13. 1 Cor vi. 15, 19, 20.

[2] James ii. 12. 2 Cor. iii. 17. 1 Pet. ii. 16.

had also in their outward and social life to prove and strengthen their sense of freedom, by constant struggle against prevalent habits, saturated as they were with what was Heathenish and idolatrous, by renouncing and abstaining from many enjoyments, sinful to them, but passionately desired by others. Their strength of character and moral courage was tested day by day, in bearing the scorn or contemptuous pity of Heathen acquaintances—declining invitations to share their pleasures, and enduring the suspicion of indulging in secret excesses. They had to preach Christ, knowing that they were universally hated, and to win men's souls, at the risk of being turned out of their houses, or imprisoned, or put to death as malefactors. It was their schooling for future freedom.

But the Church itself, too, in its organisation and social discipline and order, pioneered the way, and served as a type of future civil liberty. Within it, flourished the full and genuine equality of universal brotherhood, and in that school of willing obedience the patrician learnt to defer to a slave, who was made priest or bishop. The bearers of Church office were no wheels or screws of a great machine, but free persons; their administration was no mechanism or clerks' department, but organic life.

To prevent the idea of Christian freedom and the royal dignity of Christians being misconceived, as dispensing from the duty of political obedience, Paul and Peter have insisted on its being matter of conscience and Divine order to obey secular authorities.[1] This was quite

[1] Apoc. v. 10. Rom. xiii. 1—6. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 17.

a new doctrine in the world, but was the more needed, inasmuch as the civil power, when better informed about the Christian society, was infallibly certain to assume a hostile attitude, of which there were already symptoms. And there were many Christians still under the influence of a spirit of Jewish zeal, who thought that, so far from its becoming them to bend under the yoke of Heathen rulers, they had a divine right to rule all nations.

Paul says in so many words, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Every one knew what those powers were, and the form,—whether monarchical, republican, or mixed,—made no difference; that was an accident, as far as the religious question was concerned. The legal exercise of sovereignty lay then in the hands of the Roman Senate; through it only were the Emperors supposed to govern; it appointed and deposed them, and confirmed their acts. But in fact, the Senate was completely dependent on their will.[1] Should a civil war arise, however, as happened soon after, when the Senate declared Nero an enemy and issued an order for his arrest, so that every one had to choose his side, Christians were bound to take part for the Senate and its emperor against Nero.

The apostles, then, taught that the civil power or authority, under whatever form, is the minister of God, ordained for salutary ends, and wielding His jurisdiction on earth. The Christian, therefore, must respect those who hold this authority, in their own place and the

[1] See Suet. *Nero*, 19. Spartian, *Did. Julian*, Capit. *Maxim. duo* 15. Lamp. *Heliog.* 13.

exercise of their functions, without regard to their moral and religious qualities, and not from fear of punishment but for conscience sake. "All power is from God," whether parental or civil; it does not rest on contract or arbitrary agreement, even where the particular form derives its historical origin from a contract; nor is obedience matter of choice, limited by previous agreement, but a necessary obligation. Paul did not mean that such and such a government was a positive divine institution, like the constitution of the Christian Church, but merely that its authority is based on the command and dispensation of God, whatever be its form or historical origin. The apostle taught, further, that the civil power not only has a divine authorization, but is the minister of God, for punishing evil and promoting good; and here also he followed the teaching of the Lord.

When Pilate reminded Christ of his power, He answered, that Pilate himself was dependent on the Roman government, whose instrument he was, for ends he did not comprehend; and intimated that He was not in his power, but under the higher power of God.[1] He told the people to give to Cæsar what was Cæsar's, and to God what was God's. He was referring to the tax which was asked about, and laid down the maxim that he is the ruler, whose image is stamped on the coin, but whatever belonged to Cæsar according to the exist-

[1] John xix. 11. [ἄνωθεν *may* certainly refer to the imperial authority, but it may refer directly to power from on high.—Tr].

ing order of things was included. But He spoke at the same time of duty to God, in order to show that Christians are bound to unite their obedience to the civil government with obedience to God, because the two are closely connected, and in case of conflicting claims to prefer the latter, and never to forget that God must be obeyed rather than man, as the apostles said.[1] The law and ordinance of God have the first claim on men, but when that is satisfied they are allowed and bound to conform to the requirements of the State. And thus Christian teaching at once widened and narrowed the range of social and political obedience,—making it, on the one hand, an occasion of rendering a conscientious service to God; but, on the other hand, determining according to its own spirit and presenting to the Church, quite independently of laws, opinions, or the will of rulers, the wide field of moral and religious duties, the profession and preaching of revealed truths, domestic and public worship, and the obligations of philanthropy. It was an entire surrender of the old Heathen principle, which merged religion and morality in the state, so that a good citizen could have no gods or moral code but those of his country. The Heathen authorities and philosophers did not, however, for some time resent this or understand clearly how completely the Christian Church was the rival of the Roman state, and to how great an extent Christians followed other laws and belonged to another system; or they would from the first have carried on an uninterrupted persecution in order to

[1] Matt. xxii. 21. Acts v. 29.

eradicate the Church, and not have persecuted only by fits and starts.[1]

A new kind of freedom was born with Christianity, a wide domain inaccessible to imperial or popular will was created, wherein beggars and defenceless women and slaves felt themselves free and invincible—the liberty of conscience, the right of individuality hitherto ignored. The sense of absolute dependence on God and obligation to Him formed the Christian's freedom, as against the world and the state. The conviction that man must answer to God for his every action, his time, his powers and his property, was an indelible motive for the freest self-determination in all matters of moral and religious life. The leading idea and aim of this new Christian feeling was, that man did not appertain with soul and body to the state or commonwealth, and was not determined by it, but by God and the struggle for holiness in his wishes, thoughts and acts. The state could no longer be the final end of his being and limit of his aims; he served his country and commonwealth by giving an example of willing obedience; he observed the laws—so far as they did not contradict his belief or moral principles—took his share in common burdens,

[1] [The reader may recall a similar observation in Arnold's Lectures on Modern History, that the Roman government did not persecute Christians because they might be dangerous to the Empire hereafter, but because they disobeyed its laws now. This, however, must be taken with some reservation, and cannot, of course, be applied to the *later* persecutions at all. Men like Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian were quite aware that it was a life and death struggle, and that the safety of the Empire required the destruction of the Church.—Tr.]

and prayed for the Emperor and the state. But he had another country and kingdom too, those of his heavenly Father; and his membership of that kingdom and rights of sonship in the earthly Church gave him a consciousness of freedom. And thus, while the apostles exhort to a willing submission to existing laws and governments, they remind Christians of their own special liberty, and warn them to hold it fast. Thus Peter says, "Submit to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake"—as being His will—"whether to the king, as supreme, or to rulers sent by him . . . . . as free, and not having your freedom as a cloke of wickedness." And Paul says:—"You are bought with a price; become not slaves of men."[1] The believer felt himself free, because and in so far as he was the servant of Christ, for the service of God excludes every other. He felt himself free from the yoke of sin and from fear of men, free within, even if in body he was a slave; for the five tyrants of human life, hatred, envy, lust, covetousness, ambition, had no power over him, or, at least, he had power to overcome them.

To understand what amount of civil and religious liberty Christians were able to attain, we must get a clear idea of the social condition of the Roman Empire, which cannot be judged by the standard of a modern absolutist government. Even in the worst times of the Empire there was a great deal of liberty, and of the kind most valuable to Christians. The main props of a modern absolutist government are a powerful army

[1] 1 Pet. ii. 13—16. 1 Cor. vii. 23.

spread over the country, an omnipresent police, a state monoply of education, censorship of the press, and, above all, a bureaucracy, arranged on the principle of state omnipotence and managing and meddling everywhere, with a huge net-work of paid officials spread over the whole country, and jealously keeping down every movement of combined and independent energy. In such a state the Christian Church, had it ever been able to form itself, must, humanly speaking, have perished; it would have been stifled or annihilated. But the Roman government was in marked contrast to all this, nor did the worst tyrants among the Emperors adopt that method of ruling. The legions were not used to keep down the people, but placed on the frontiers; only in the capital the Prætorian cohorts were the Emperor's body guard. The modern institution of an all-embracing and elaborately organised police was unknown to the Romans. A few officials, ædiles and præfects, under the city præfect, provided by the simplest means for public order and security. There was no idea of a literary censorship, or a system of state education, or government schools. All inferior schools were private establishments. Only a few chairs of Rhetoric and Philosophy were erected gradually under the Emperors. Teaching and education on the whole were entirely free, and under private control. Indeed there was in general very little government influence. In the provinces, besides proconsuls and prætors and their secretaries and attendants, there were only commissioners of taxes and the Post-office. The administration was chiefly in the

hands of communal authorities, who served without payment, and had no desire to increase their business and make it more difficult by over-governing.

This state of things was obviously very favourable to the development of the Church, and in accordance with the needs and desires of Christians. Under no other circumstances could they have stood their ground against the universal hatred and suspicion felt towards them from the first, as a gang of secret miscreants. It was a further advantage to them, that a great variety of colleges, sodalities and corporations, as well for religious ends as for the common benefit or pleasure, existed, with great liberty of action, and under protection of the law; though it was a principle of Roman jurists, that in such cases civil authorisation was necessary, and a sharp line of demarcation was drawn between licensed and unlicensed societies. But their great number soon made it impossible to keep any strict watch over them, and thus Christian liberty had a wide field. There was certainly little liberty in the sense of sharing the supreme governing and legislative authority, but that the Christian did not desire. Even had it been open to them, they must have withdrawn from it, as things then were, in a polity, thoroughly saturated with Heathenism, as a snare and intolerable burden.

Christian equality corresponded to Christian liberty. Christian teaching rejected the prevalent view, that a portion of mankind was doomed to slavery by an eternal law of nature. All men, as descendants of the first pair

created by God, are brethren; all have the same Father in heaven and on earth; all bear the indelible image of God; all, without exception, are called to be children of God, members of Christ, and of His Church; and all in the Church are members of one body. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, slave nor free, male nor female;" all differences and divisions have passed away.[1] Christians must respect and observe civil ranks and gradations, and the subjection of wife to husband must remain as before, according to natural and divine law. But before God and the Church all were equal in rights and duties, and there was only inequality of service and variety of instruments.

One special difficulty in the relations of Christians to the State was about oaths. At first sight, it is one of the most striking differences between the Old Testament dispensation and that of Christ, that an oath was there divinely prescribed in certain cases as a religious act, whereas Christ gave a general prohibition of swearing, and required that assertions of the truth should not go beyond Yes and No. His enumeration of particular forms of oath,— by heaven, by earth, by one's head, by Jerusalem—was directed against the existing system and casuistry of the scribes. So James desired Christians not to swear by heaven or earth, or any other oath, but only to say yea or nay. There were, then, three evils and abuses, which Christ and His apostle wished to meet; first, the danger of perjury, where oaths were so frequently and easily taken, and about

[1] Gal. iii. 28.

uncertain things; secondly, the mistaking the essential nature of an oath, as an attestation in the name of God, and an appeal to Him, and the discovery and use of forms professedly less solemn and binding; thirdly, the prevalent mistrust, and the want of truthfulness that caused it; for the constant use of oaths, even in unimportant matters, only came from the presumption of falsehood in others. The command of the Lord implied, first, the will and expectation, that in His Church there would be strict truthfulness, and consequently full mutual confidence, and that none would be so uncharitable as to brand a fellow Christian's word as false by requiring an oath to confirm it. Had the Christian Church remained in its original state, in the form of small communities, with Christians intimately connected and knowing each other well, and a corresponding system of discipline, the absolute prohibition of swearing would have been maintained, and no Christian allowed to require an oath from another. But the prohibition could not be kept in dealings with a Heathen State. As in the ecclesiastical and civil polity of the Old Covenant oaths were not only allowed but expressly commanded, so the Christian was bound not to refuse civil oaths, so long as they contained nothing directly Heathenish,—as when taken in the name of the gods, or by the genius of the Emperor. For it was unreasonable to expect the State to be content with a mere assertion from him, while it required an oath from all others. And thus, when the Church had opened her gates to whole nations and populations, and had definite rights and relations with

the State, she was obliged to allow political and judicial oaths, as indispensable for bringing the truth to light, and for her own rights.[1]

How quickly and powerfully Christianity could dispossess or transform the most deeply rooted prejudices, was clearly shown, in the view taken of death and dead bodies. With the Jews, it was a defilement to touch a corpse, and cleansing by sprinkling water was commanded on pain of death. Whatever was touched by one thus polluted was unclean; whoever entered the chamber where a man had died, or touched a dead bone or a grave, was unclean. The Greeks and Romans shared this feeling. Corpses, graves, and houses of the dead were unclean and polluting; the mere sight of a dead body so desecrated a solemn act of worship, that all had to be performed over again. Christians believed, thought, and felt quite differently. For them, the human body had a much higher value, since the Incarnation had brought it into communion with the Godhead, and believers, as the apostle said, were become temples of the Holy Ghost, and their bodies members of Christ, to be summoned at the resurrection to take part in the glorification of the whole man.[2] And while on this account

[1] Exod. xxii. 10, 11. Deut. vi. 13; x. 20. Matt. v. 34—38. James v. 12. To prove the right of the Church to limit in this sense the apparently general statement of the Lord and His apostle, we must not say, as is often done, that Christ Himself "took a solemn and formal judicial oath," Matt. xxvi. 64, for He did not swear; but gave the simplest and shortest answer possible to the adjuration of the high priest. But the strong attestations of Paul come very near an oath, *e.g.*, 2 Cor. i 23; Gal. i. 20; Phil. i. 8; and the like.

[2] Jos. *Arch.* xviii. 2, 3. *Contr. Apion.* ii. 26. Hagg. ii. 14. Numb. xix. 14. Dio Cass. 54, 28. 1 Cor. iii. 16, 17; vi. 15.

they shrunk with scrupulous horror from all sinful defilement of the body, the feeling of disgust and dislike towards dead bodies gave place to a feeling of reverence; they were drawn towards the places where the earthly remains of their departed brethren lay, as to fields sown with the seed of a glorious harvest. There the Saints slept, and there they would rise. Hence, the Heathen practice of burning the dead was revolting to them, and they introduced burial in the apostolic age.

Herodotus describes the impression made on the Greeks by the sight of the government and manners of the Egyptians, in these words; "This people has customs and regulations almost the precise opposite of those of other men."[1] The educated Greek or Roman, who had taken the trouble to investigate closely the inner life of the new Christian society, its beliefs and institutions, would have received a similar impression. He would have discovered a state within a state, an independent kingdom, which in the eyes of a Roman was a criminal and ephemeral creation of folly and blindness, or a dark gang of conspirators, a sect hating the light, which must be trampled, like a worm crawling on the ground, under the iron heel of the civil power, as soon as it emerged from its lurking place into the light of day. The members of this kingdom were defenceless, and determined to endure the worst without resistance, while yet they were confident of ultimate victory and of the indefectibility and permanence of their society. In this kingdom, a crucified Jew was beginning, middle, and end;

[1] Herod. ii. 35.

He was honoured as its unseen king, and Jewish fishermen and tax-gatherers were its visible founders. It grew quietly but surely, under reproaches and injuries, through means a Heathen could not comprehend, and by powers he could neither measure nor analyse. In this kingdom, a slave ate at the same table with his master, nay, a slave might be a ruler and the master a ministering brother. The poor and humble were no less honoured than the wealthy and men of gentle blood. Jews, Greeks, and Romans, who hated each other elsewhere, were all brethren here; there was no distinction of nationality any more than of rank. The greatest was he who served most, and the extent and difficulty of the service was the sole criterion of dignity. Here, first, weakness, experience of human infirmity, and failure of natural power through bodily suffering, was recognised and commended as a condition and means of moral power and strength.[1] All had equal claim to the advantages of the kingdom; rights were measured by duties. The woman was on a par with the man, the virgin not less honoured than the wife and mother. There was but one weapon of defence and one threat which this kingdom had the power or will to use for its self-preservation, that of exclusion from its fellowship; but so greatly was this dreaded, that the outcast entreated re-admission at the price of the deepest humiliation. Prayer was offered in this kingdom for him who called himself "lord of the human race,"[2] but its members would rather die than allow him to meddle with its internal arrangements.

[1] 2 Cor. xii. 10. [2] Tac. *Hist.* iii. 68.

And as they believed it to be both visible and invisible, stretching beyond the limits of earthly being into another world, Cicero's beautiful saying of an universal state, among whose citizens should be included both gods and men, was here fulfilled, though in a very different sense from his.[1]

[1] Cic. *De Leg.* i. 7.

APPENDIX I.

HISTORY OF THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PASSAGE ABOUT THE MAN OF SIN, IN THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

THERE is no passage in the New Testament that has given occasion to so many and such various explanations, or is, as commonly understood, more obscure and difficult than this, viz. 2 Thess. ii. 1—12. Yet it is doctrinally and historically so important, and so essential to a right understanding of the apostle's general line of thought, that the reader may be grateful for an historical review of the attempts to explain it, and of the notions and expectations to which it has given rise. And it is obvious that such a review will serve to justify the historical explanation developed in this book.

That explanation starts with the assumption that this prophecy, like those of Christ, combines intimations of events soon to happen, and of others at the end of the world,—that it has a double fulfilment, one just after the apostle's time, and one at the end. It is another question whether the apostle was himself conscious of this

double sense and fulfilment of his words, and what idea he had about the nearness or distance of the end of the world; for it is an attribute of prophecy, that its objective and subjective meaning are by no means always coincident, and that it sometimes has a wider scope than is present to the prophet's mind, as appears in many visions of the Old Testament Prophets.[1] And this must be peculiarly the case about the last days, since Christ has emphatically told us that it is God's will for the time of the final catastrophe to remain hidden from all, as well apostles as others; and thus none can know whether the end and the events immediately preceding it will occur to-morrow or after thousands of years. A double fulfilment of Daniel's prophecies is universally admitted, one by Antiochus Epiphanes, and a second later. Bossuet interprets the Apocalypse on the theory of a double or more than double fulfilment, and appeals to other theologians in support of his view.[2]

It is the universal and constant belief and tradition of the whole Church, that towards the end of the present dispensation and before the Second Coming of the Lord a last and greater Antichrist, some power pre-eminently hostile to the Church, will appear and seduce many into apostacy. And this Antichrist will be like the "Man

[1] Cf. among others Jahn's Einleitung in die Bücher des A. B. ii. 373 sqq.

[2] "A celà il faut ajouter ce que dit Alcasar avec tous les théologiens, qu'une interprétation même littérale de l'Apocalypse ou *des autres prophéties*, peut très-bien compatir avec les autres." He then gives examples of Scripture prophecies which must have a past and future fulfilment. *Œuvres.* Ed. Liège, 1776, ii. 368.

of Sin" described by Paul, so that in him men will see a fulfilment of the great "adversary" here foretold. Such is the constant opinion from the time of Irenæus and Tertullian. But is that last fulfilment the only one, or is there another already past, so that Paul had this first and immediate one chiefly before his eyes, and some of his statements refer to that alone? This is an open question, and I have felt the more bound to adopt the latter view, because hitherto every attempt to explain ὁ κατέχων from the point of view of a future fulfilment only, has palpably failed, and must be given up as hopeless.

For convenience we may distinguish the patristic interpretation, the mediæval, the modern Catholic, and the earlier and later Protestant. As to the Fathers, all or most of them agree in the following points:—1. The "Man of Sin" will appear towards the end of the world at the time of the fall of the Roman Empire, and will set up his own kingdom in its place. 2. He will appear as the Messiah expected by the Jews, and will either himself build their temple, or get possession of it when it has been rebuilt. 3. "He that letteth," is the Roman Empire. 4. "The mystery of iniquity that already worketh," is Nero.

Bossuet has perceived that one point in these interpretations has been since disproved by history, and must be given up accordingly. He says:—"Ils (les pères) ne marchent qu'à tâtons dans l'explication du détail de la prophétie, marque assurée que la tradition n'en avait rien laissé de certain."[1] He adds, that on Grotius' theory

[1] *Pref. sur l'Apoc. Œuvres.* ii. 378.

of the prophecy being completely fulfilled, with no further accomplishment to follow at the end of time, the secret Paul had orally communicated to the Thessalonians would have remained hidden, and tradition throw no light upon it. But that is just the question. It seems to me more likely that the old explanation referring the mystery of iniquity to Nero had its ground in primitive tradition, and that the Heathen rumour about his future return was adopted, because the relation of the Man of Sin to the temple of Jerusalem had not been so literally fulfilled by the historical Nero as was considered necessary.

Irenæus is the first Father who undertakes to explain, "Sitting in the temple of God." He maintains that the language only suits the true God and the temple of Jerusalem. He adds that the apostle's meaning is the same as that of Christ (Matt. xxiv. 15), when speaking of the "abomination of desolation in the holy place," and that the Antichrist will establish his kingdom at Jerusalem and have himself worshipped there in the temple, v. 25, 2—4. He must have assumed a previous rebuilding of the temple by the Jews; and this was the usual idea in the following centuries. It was well known that those whom Paul addressed could only understand the temple at Jerusalem, for the direct reference to Daniel's prophecy excluded any other interpretation. And thus it was pretty generally assumed that, when the scattered Jews were gathered together again and restored, the temple would be rebuilt. The Sibylline books implied this throughout; and it was the

more believed, as for some time considerable remains of the temple were standing. In the fourth century it was supposed that Antichrist himself would rebuild it, a view foreign to the older Fathers; indeed Lactantius says he would try to destroy it.[1] The difficulty of a temple built by Antichrist being called by the apostle the temple of God did not trouble them.

But Irenæus, and still more Hippolytus, in his book on Christ and Antichrist, and the Greek Fathers generally from that time forward, enlarged the notion of the "Man of Sin" by attaching to it one of the two Apocalyptic beasts (Rev. xiii.) and the "little horn" of Daniel (ch. vii.) growing on the head of the fourth beast and speaking blasphemies, which roots out the other ten horns or kings and combats and overcomes the Saints. And thus the view grew up, that Paul spoke of a great monarch and bloody tyrant, who should rule the world and destroy the Roman Empire, but whose own should be the last universal monarchy. As the older kingdoms had been destroyed by the later, the Persian by the Greek, and the Greek by the Roman, so should the Roman be destroyed by Antichrist, and his by Christ. And this last kingdom of Antichrist was to be set up in the East, according to an old prophecy Lactantius cites, that the East should rule and the West serve. As the four kingdoms of Daniel were then understood to be the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman, the Roman being the last, a time was looked for when this would be divided among ten kings; then Antichrist, after destroy-

[1] *Inst.* v. 17.

ing three of them and subjugating the rest, would reign over the world for three years and a half (Dan. vii. 25). Armed with all magical arts, and as the chosen instrument of Satan, he will give himself out for Christ, the Son of God. He will not invite or seduce men to idolatry, but as a rival god will put down all other gods, as Chrysostom says (*Opp.* xi. 525). And thus three events were expected as almost contemporary, the fall of the Roman Empire, the appearance of Antichrist, and the end of the world. The Fathers said there would be no other Empire after the Roman; all others would fall with it.[1] As long as it was feared, no one would willingly submit to Antichrist, according to Chrysostom; but as soon as it is destroyed, he will seize the vacant place and draw to himself the kingdom of God and men.

This view is seen in its most elaborate and fantastic form in the Syrian Ephrem, and in the Pseudohippolytus or author of the treatise *De Consummatione Mundi et Antichristo*, who, as Dodwell has shown, probably wrote in the middle of the seventh century.[2] Both make hypocrisy the chief characteristic of Antichrist; he will be outwardly meek and humble, and deceive the world by an appearance of piety and by the glitter of his

[1] Lact. vii. 25. Hieron. *in Dan.* vii. Chrys. *in.* ii. *Thess.* Tertullian (*Apol.* 32) calls the rule of Antichrist, "vim maximam universo orbi imminentem." Lactantius says, "Insustentabili dominatione vexabit orbem terrarum." Jerome says, "In uno Romano imperio propter blasphemantem Antichristum omnia simul regna delenda sunt."

[2] Syr. Eph. *Opp. ed. Par.* v. 303 sq. Hippol. *Opp. Ed. Fabr.* end of first vol.

lying wonders, and only when his dupes have proclaimed him their king will he appear in his true light, hard, terrible and shameless. The theatre of the whole drama is, of course, laid in the East; the three kings he destroys are those of Egypt, Libya and Æthiopia; he is worshipped at Jerusalem, and the Mount of Olives is the scene of his fall. He must be a born Jew, to be accepted as the true Messiah by the whole Jewish nation; and it was inferred from the Bible account of Dan, as a serpent, (Gen. xlix. 17) that he should be of that tribe. Nor was this view affected by the circumstance that there had long ceased to be any distinction of tribes. The great point was that the temple of Jerusalem would be rebuilt, as the temple and throne of Antichrist, and hence that the Jews would be his chief adherents and worshippers. Irenæus says:—"To him will the widow deserted of God, the earthly Jerusalem, flee, that she may take vengeance on her enemies." It was added that he would show a special zeal for the temple, would be hailed by the Jews as their true Messiah, and would show peculiar honour to them. Some, like Theodoret, went so far as to consider him an incarnation of Satan. Cyril thinks Satan so filled him as to be αὐτοπροσώπως δι' αὐτοῦ ἐνεργῶν. Lactantius calls him, *malo spiritu genitus*, and Martin of Tours, *malo spiritu conceptus*. Basil thought the apostle understood by the son of perdition, the devil.[1] Hilary, the author of a Commentary on Paul's Epistles, which long went under the name of

[1] Iren. v. 25. Cyr. *Cat.* 15. Greg. Naz. *Or.* 57. Lact. *Inst.* vii. 17. Sulp *Dial.* 2. Bas. *Opp.* i. 98. *Ed. Garner.*

Ambrose, represents Satan, who once came down from heaven to earth, arranging the whole antichristian drama, and being worshipped as God under the assumed appearance of a man; and Gregory the Great takes a similar view, but Jerome rejects it.[1] It was commonly held enough to believe that Antichrist would be intimately allied with Satan, as his willing instrument; and Satan, as Ephrem says, would send his demons over all the world to announce the coming of the great king in his glory.

The Latin Fathers, Ambrose and Jerome, for the most part followed the Greek view. And so Augustine, who, in his work, *De Civitate Dei*, repeats the usual and wide-spread statements about Antichrist, the length of his persecution, his origin from Dan and the like; adding, that there were only conjectures in existence as to the "hindering" or "possessing" one, and the mystery of iniquity. "We might desire to elaborate the apostles' meaning, but we cannot. I confess plainly that I do not know it." The view of Nero being referred to, soon came into vogue among the Latins also, whether regarding him as the precursor of Antichrist, or adopting, under the influence of the Sybilline books, the old

[1] "Cognoscitur ipse esse quasi eorum deus, quos prius nutu ejus ut deos coluit vulgus, quorum sit ipse primus aut summus." Ambr. *Opp. Ed. Ben.* T. ii. App. 284. Gregory says, "homo a diabolo assumptus—damnatus ille homo quem in fine mundi apostata ille angelus assumet," and again "ipse diabolus illud vas perditionis ingressus Antichristus vocabitur." *Opp. Ed. Ben.* i. 422, 445. "Ne eum putemus juxta quorundam opinionem vel diabolum esse vel dæmonem, sed unum de hominibus in quo totus Satanas habitaturus sit corporaliter." Hieron. *In Dan.* vii. 8.

Heathen and Jewish notion of his future return, as was done after the middle of the third century,—first by Commodian, then by Lactantius and Victorin of Petabis. Jerome thus states the former idea: *Multis malis atque peccatis, quibus Nero, impurissimus Cæsarum, mundum premit, Antichristi parturitur adventus.* Those who adopted the other view, among whom were Martin of Tours, and his biographer, Sulpicius Severus, either held that Nero would rise from the dead, or that he was still alive and concealed somewhere. Augustine remarks on this: *Multum mihi mirum est hoc opinantium tanta præsumptio.*[1] This "presumption" is strikingly shown by the African, Commodian, A.D. 252. His Antichrist is Nero returned from the lower world, accompanied by the false prophet (Apoc. xiii. 11 sqq.), who claims to be the Messiah, and is worshipped as God. He appoints two other rulers, or Cæsars, to share with him the dominion of the world. Meantime, the Jews he has duped perceive their error and cry to God for help. Then Christ appears from heaven at the head of the ten lost tribes, and all creation rejoices at the sight. They take Jerusalem, and Antichrist flies to the north and collects the great army of Gog and Magog. But he is conquered, and thrown with the false prophet into Gehenna; and the reign of a thousand years and the first resurrection follow in Jerusalem, which is come down from heaven. The *Carmen*, which is probably later than the *Instructiones*, gives two Antichrists; a Western, in Rome,

[1] Aug. *de liv Dei* xx. 2, 19. Hieron Ep. 151, ad Algas Quæst. 11. Cf. Com. in Dan. xi. 30.

who deceives the Christians—an Eastern, in Jerusalem, who deceives the Jews. Both share equally the work of Antichrist; Nero is worshipped at Rome, abolishes the Christian sacrifice, and persecutes Christians to the death.[1] Against him marches the real Jewish Antichrist from Persia, attended by four nations—Medes, Persians, Chaldeans, and Babylonians. He kills the three Emperors, destroys Rome and its inhabitants, and is worshipped in Judæa. The attempt to combine Daniel, the Apocalypse, and the Pauline prophecy, led to this perversion of the Apocalypse.

No use will be made here of the poem of Crisias, which Pitra has recently edited, in vol. iv. of his *Spicilegium* (1858), though it says a great deal about Antichrist. Avevalo conjectured the author to be the African bishop, Verecundus, in the sixth century; and Pitra will not decide whether it belongs to the sixth or fifteenth. It seems to me to be clearly an Italian work of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, chiefly translated or paraphrased from the Sibyllines. Just after the taste of Italian humourists of that day for confounding Heathen and Christian elements together, the whole Greek Olympus, with its gods and goddesses, is brought into play to train and educate Antichrist for his future calling. Instead of the common idea of his assumed sanctity and treacherous hypocrisy, we read: *totus per stupra*

[1] Combine the two poems of Commodian, the *Instructiones*, long known, and *Carmen Apologeticum*, lately edited by Pitra (Spic. Sol. T. 1). Pitra reads in v. 974 of the *Carmen*, "Et fu (giet in rub) ore." But a comparison with the *Instruct.* I. 42, v. 38, shows it should be, "et fugit in Boream." See also *Oblatio Christi*, v. 872.

nefanda Amplexusque ruet, circumdatus agmine semper Fœmineo, semper que inter lasciva volutans. And again, *Intentusque epulis semper que intentus Iaccho*, &c.

The Fathers of the first six centuries generally viewed the episode of Antichrist as a Jewish movement; he was one of the Jewish false Messiahs who appeared from time to time, but the most powerful, bold, and successful of all. The words of Christ, John v. 43, were usually applied to him. He was expected to try and introduce the Mosaic law and circumcision everywhere, beginning from Jerusalem. So Victorin, Cyril, Sulpicius Severus, Jerome, Augustin, Pelagius, Sedulius, Hilary, Gregory the Great, Gregory of Tours, Isidore of Seville. No one thought he would rise out of the bosom of the Christian Church; but it was held that his short reign of three years and a half would be foreign and hostile to it. Far from calling himself or his society Christian, he would ostentatiously profess his Judaism. Many Christians would fall away to him, and Christians and Christian Churches be seized by him and his; but the course and visible succession of the Church would by no means be injured or stopped.[1] Those who applied Apoc. xii. 4 to the case, inferred that a third part of Christians would fall away. So Victorin, Gregory the Great, Hilary, &c. These notions survived in the following centuries, notwithstanding various amplifications and fantastic distortions prevalent in the Church.[2] As the geographical range of vision

[1] *See e.g.* Aug. *De Civ. Dei.* xx. 8.

[2] I know but one theologian of name who, under the excitement of the sixteenth century events, exceeds all moderation in this matter,—

grew wider and the Church spread in foreign parts, the difficulty naturally increased of conceiving a world-wide Jewish Antichristian empire, ruled from Jerusalem, and so universal a persecution, compressed into three years and a-half. Later theologians since the sixteenth century became gradually more cautious and sober in what they said about Antichrist, and began to see that the attempt to combine the words of Christ, of Paul, and of the Apocalypse, had been carried a good deal too far.

Speculations on this theme were limited, and in some sense closed, in the Greek Church, by the cautious manner of discussing Antichrist in John of Damascus' dogmatic work, which attained a classical authority.[1] It is based on the Pauline passage, without any reference to the Apocalypse, evidently from a conviction that the "Man of Sin" has nothing to do with the two apocalyptic beasts. He infers from John v. 43, that the Jews would receive Antichrist as their Messiah; the temple where He is worshipped as God is the old Jewish one, "not ours' (viz. the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem), for He will come to the Jews, not to us." A man born of lust, but equipped with the whole power of Satan, he will suddenly seize the dominion and persecute the Church, but will only seduce the feeble and unstable to apostasy with his lying wonders.

Dominic Soto, in his Commentary on the Fourth Book of Sentences, Dist. 46, Q. 1, a. 1: "Extincta fide per dicessionem ab apostolica sede totus mundus vanus erit et deinceps in casum processurus." But Bellarmine and de Valentia have sharply blamed this perverse view.

[1] *De Fid. Orth.* iv. 26, Opp. Ed. Lequien. i. 299.

Western mediæval Christianity had a good deal more to say about Antichrist, chiefly derived from Augustine, Jerome and Hilary, and, as a chief authority, from the treatise of an unknown African (composed between 450 and 455 A.D.), *De Promissionibus et Prædictionibus Dei*, with its appendix, *Dimidium temporis, ad cujus finem implendæ sunt visiones in S. Scripturis factæ de Antichristo*.[1] This work, commonly ascribed to Prosper, was one of the best known in the middle ages. By Antichrist the author understands properly Satan, appearing either in the form of Nero, or of some one else; but in any case exhibiting Nero's vices. While many, especially later writers, thought Antichrist would ape the whole history of Christ, he maintains, on the contrary, that the contrast of his appearance and works will be so complete to all that befel Christ, as to make it easy for posterity to see that he is a false Messiah. Writing at a time when the Catholic Africans were groaning under the yoke of Arian Vandals, he supposes that the persecution of Antichrist—which he thinks near at hand—will be an Arian one. From the eleventh century almost every one drew his views of this subject chiefly from a short treatise composed 953 A.D., at the desire of the Frankish queen Gerberga, by the monk Adso, abbot of Montier-en-Der, from 968 A.D. It was ascribed sometimes to Augustine, sometimes to Rhabanus Maurus or Alcuin, and thus notwithstanding the rather fantastic and silly nature of its contents was

[1] See Paris edition of Prosper's works, 1711. Append. pp. 91, 190 sqq.

much reverenced. Adso says that Antichrist will be born in Babylon and brought up by magicians in Bethsaida and Chorazin; and this was often repeated afterwards, in forgetfulness that for many centuries none of these places had existed. Satan takes possession of him in the womb. He settles at Jerusalem, where all Jews flock to him as their Messiah, is circumcised, sends his preachers into all the world, works many wonders, raises the dead, rebuilds the temple, and is worshipped as the Son of God. He converts all princes, and through them all nations to himself; the Christians who do not join him are killed. Unlike the older Fathers, Adso makes him restore idolatry (*dæmonum culturam*), and as though to make it impossible for any later writer to exceed the horror of his account, says that all the human race will be deceived and destroyed by him.[1] He adds, as an alleviating circumstance, that after his death on the Mount of Olives the judgment will not immediately follow, but God will wait for the conversion of part of the deceived. But the Man of Sin will not come till the secession (ἀποστασία) has taken place, *i.e.*, till all the countries under the Roman Empire are separated from it, and that will not be, so long as there are Frankish kings.

Besides these writings, the so-called *Revelations of Methodius* essentially contributed to colour later mediæval notions about the last things. It first became known

[1] "Totum simul humanum genus suo errore decipiet et perdet." Adso's tract is in Augustine's works, T. vi. Ap. p. 723, Ed. Antwerp, and in Froben's edition of Alcuin.

in the West about two centuries after Adso's work, and was ascribed to the famous bishop of Patara at the beginning of the fourth century; but it is not by him or by his namesake, the Patriarch of Constantinople (as Fabricius thought), who died 846, but by another Methodius who lived in 1240. It treats of the fate of Oriental Christendom, its sufferings under the yoke of the sons of Ismael, a great victory of the Greek Emperor, which was to break the Mahometan yoke, and the Mongol invasion of Gog and Magog.[1] Then the Greek Emperor is to reign twelve years and a half at Jerusalem, after which Antichrist appears, born in Chorazim, brought up at Bethsaida, and ruling in Capernaum, till he marches to Jerusalem, and is worshipped in the temple. It is a peculiarity of this account, that Antichrist will be unmasked by the preaching of Enoch and Elias, and afterwards universally deserted and despised.

Throughout the middle ages Christians always looked to the East for Antichrist, and when he was supposed to be at hand it was Eastern, not Western events, that suggested the notion. No doubt was felt that he would appear in the East, in Chaldæa, and then in Palestine. In a wider and less strict sense particular individuals were called Antichrists, or precursors of Antichrist, to brand them as special enemies or corrupters of the Church, just as John had extended the use of the term; and it was natural that this designation should be

[1] The Latin translator always names the Turks in the titles of the chapters, but the author meant the Caliphate. The work is found in Greek and Latin in the *Orthodoxographa Basil.* 1569, Tom. i.

chiefly given to persecutors and authors of schisms and heresies. So Cyprian and Jerome said before that all heretics are Antichrists,[1] as the Arian author of the *Opus Imperfectum in Matthæum,* called Catholics or "Homoousians," the host of Antichrist. The notion gradually grew up that all heresies were preparations for the great revolt which would cause the persecution of Antichrist, and would be swallowed up in it like brooks and rivers in a mighty sea. Under his rule no new sects or heresies would arise; there would be but two religions in the world, the Catholic and that of Antichrist.

In the twelfth century it begun to be thought that the expositions of Antichrist and of the preceding and attendant circumstances had been carried much too far, and a protest was raised against categorical assertions of matters not included in the traditional teaching of the Church. The learned Provost Gerhoh, of Reichersberg, did this in his treatise *De Investigatione Antichristi,* where he wishes to show that all said in holy Scripture about Antichrist was already fulfilled in the history of the Church and the acts of her enemies, even should no such Antichrist come hereafter, as was commonly supposed, to give himself out for Christ, be worshipped as God in the temple, bring fire from heaven, kill Enoch and Elias, and do all the rest, which is more a matter of opinion in the Church than of faith. For nothing more pertains to faith about him than what is necessary for the fulfilment of the Bible pro-

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 74, 76. Hieron. *in Matt.* xxiv. 5. Opp. vii. 193.

phecies, and we are free to suppose that the former Antichrists sufficiently fulfil the Scriptures and the "mystery of iniquity," to justify the Lord, if the day of judgment should dawn at once.[1] But many were not content with representing Antichrist as at hand; they maintained that he was already born, and would appear in their generation. St Bernard relates this of Norbert, founder of the Præmonstratensian order.[2]

Bishop Ranieri, of Florence, created a great stir by a similar statement earlier, between 1071 and 1080. Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, afterwards anti-pope, tried to convince him of his error in a treatise, where he says that his assertion was the universal topic of conversation, and that he claimed to know what no Prophet knew; that the Roman Empire was still in full power over all Italy; and there was no trace of the apostasy announced by the apostle to precede Antichrist.[3] And Vincent Ferrer, the Dominican, wrote to the Avignon Pope, De Luna, in 1412, that he had learnt Antichrist was born.

The Joachimite school invented the theory, which has led to so much confusion, of explaining the 1260 days in Daniel by so many years; the oppression of the Church under the mystical Babylon, or German Empire of the

[1] Gerhoh says that in his day the mystery of Antichrist was often acted in the Churches, which he blames as truly Antichristian. That must have constantly supplied food for fresh mythical decorations of the story. Jodok Stültz gives extracts from Gerhoh's treatise in the 22nd vol. of the *Archiv. für Kunde Oester.* Geschichtsq. Wien. 1858.

[2] Bern. *Ep.* 56. Opp. Mab. ed. i. 59.

[3] *Novelle Letter*, Florence, 1768, p. 771, 803.

Hohenstaufen, was to last from 1200 to 1260, and from 1256 to 1260 the tyranny of Antichrist. But the Joachimites distinguished the *Antichristus mixtus* or *mysticus*, or *reipublicæ*, the tyrannical worldly power with its false pope, from the proper Antichrist. When the year 1260 passed without any fulfilment of these cherished anticipations, Daniel's 1335 days were taken, and the year 1335 fixed as the date of Antichrist's destruction. So the Beguines or followers of Peter John of Olive. Wicliffe made the year 1400 that of Antichrist's appearance, if he wrote *The Last Age of the Church*, edited by J. H. Todd. (Dublin, 1840.) He elsewhere calls the pope Antichrist, or an Antichrist; but he, like other mediæval heretics, uses the word in a wider and improper sense, not meaning to refer the Pauline Man of Sin to the Papacy, for the notion that a Jew who should appear in the East at the end of the world is there meant, was firmly held. It was only meant that the popes were Antichrists, as many heretics and persecutors had been before, or as Wicliffe said, that there was a contrast in all points between a pope and Christ. One section of the Waldensians called pope Silvester Antichrist, not of course meaning that the last and proper Antichrist had appeared in the fourth century, but only that by accepting Constantine's gift Silvester poisoned the Church, and showed himself its enemy and an heretical forerunner of Antichrist. So the Beguines saw in Pope John xxii. who rejected their pet doctrine about perfect poverty, the *mysticus Antichristus*. But they said this of the particular pope, not

of the papacy, which they considered a divine institution.[1] They partly thought the real Antichrist would come from the most perfect order, the Franciscan, as Lucifer came from the highest rank of angels.

The schism of the sixteenth century introduced a change in the interpretation of this passage (2 Thess. ii. 1—12), which is, in fact, one of the most remarkable occurrences in the whole history of Biblical criticism. For 1500 years every one had understood the apostle to mean a certain *individual*, by the adversary or Man of Sin; not one Father had doubted this. It was now suddenly discovered that Paul meant nothing of the kind, but a long succession of persons extending through many centuries, viz., the Bishops of the Roman See. He meant to foretel that the Church itself for at least fifteen centuries would be the kingdom and seat of a chronic Antichrist, so that there would be, with short breaks, a regular dynasty or succession of Antichrists. Whenever the Roman See was vacant there was no Antichrist, but as soon as it was filled there was one again, and would be to the end of the world. The temple of God, where the adversary would sit, could be nothing else than the Christian Church.[2] The view of

[1] See Limborch *Hist. Inquis.* p. 298, 303, 308.

[2] The difficulty of the Church, which recognised Antichrist as her head, being at the same time called "the temple of God," and apostate (for so ἡ ἀποστασία was understood), was not thought of. That all adherents of the "man of sin" are called ἀπολλύμενοι, irrevocably lost, caused no hesitation in the Reformation period, when that consequence was gladly admitted; but it did later, whence Koppe remarks, "plerosque interpretum hanc Paulinæ orationis partem prorsus silentio præ-

Antichrist appearing at the fall of the Roman Empire was retained, only there was a question when that fall took place, whether with the Western or Byzantine Empire, or whether both should be included. The 1260 days of Daniel which had been made into years, were now taken to define the duration of the Antichristian Empire, and according to what Pope was chosen as the first Antichrist, it was extended into the eighteenth, nineteenth, or twenty-first century. The so-called gods, over whom "the adversary" sets himself, are princes and kings, whom the popes have maintained to be subject to their ecclesiastical authority. This explanation, first devised by Luther, was received into the Smalcaldic Articles, and thus obtained a place as a formal dogma, and was eagerly seized and kept to by all Protestant theologians. Calvin declared it to be so true and evident that a boy of ten years old must see its truth. It was dangerous to understand the passage differently; one of the charges against Archbishop Laud on his trial was his refusal to recognise the Roman bishop as the "Man of Sin."[1] But as this view is now given up everywhere, where

teriisse animadvertimus." De Wette observes that the metaphorical sense of the temple, as the Christian Church, does not agree with the notion of "sitting," but there was of course no taste or appreciation for such refinements in that age.

[1] It semes to have become a traditional view that Catholic divines understand Luther and his work by Antichrist. One writer copies it from another. Olshausen iv. 521. Lüneman, p. 210. But no one has really done so; and if any theologian in the heat of controversy had been driven to adopt such an absurdity, it would have been rejected as contradicting the whole tone of the Church's mind. Lüneman quotes Estius, Fromond, Bern. a Piconio; but none of them say anything of the sort.

there is a scientific theology and exegesis, it is enough to have mentioned it. Kern says rightly; "It is so obvious to the unprejudiced that our text speaks as distinctly as possible of an individual, that it could never have been doubted, but for the wish to avoid that interpretation at any price from certain ulterior grounds, dogmatic and other." Tüb. Zeitschr. Theol. 1839. Heft. ii. 158.

The first to see the necessity of a different explanation, and to perceive that the apostle referred to persons and events of his own day, were Netherlanders and Englishmen. Grotius thought Caligula was the man of sin, and the apostacy the profligacy of his court, but that from verse 8 Simon Magus was spoken of. Witsius and Wetstein understood Titus by the man of sin, and the revolt of the Roman armies under Nero and after him by the apostacy. Hammond referred all to the Gnostics and their head, Simon Magus. These views were easily assailable. Equally unsatisfactory was another explanation, which made the Man of Sin the unbelieving Jews, who persecuted Christians. While Benson and Macknight unthinkingly repeated Luther's view, Whitby's Commentary—the sharpest of the older English critics—is a medley of right and wrong. He saw that Claudius was meant by ὁ κατέχων, but he thinks the adversary is the Jewish people, with its tendency to tumult and hatred of Christian Churches, which only Claudius kept from apostacy. Rösselt agrees with him in principle.[1]

[1] La Roche, *Mem. Lit.* Sept. 1726. Whitby *Paraph. and Comment. on* N. T. London, 1718; ii. 470; Ross. *Op.* ii. 292.

The first German Protestant theologians who rejected the older view, Döderlein, Eckermann and Kleucker, tried to refer the passage to Jewish mutinies against the Romans, and the false Messiahs and agitators of the period. Koppe, Stolz and Kuinöl thought it referred to a succession of opponents of God and Christ, who would rise up in the Church. Berthold thought the Antichrist of Paul was a mere Jewish fancy of the time, in which the apostle was entangled. Baumgarten-Crusius thinks the apostle merely repeated the images of the old Prophets, especially Daniel's; a particular person is out of the question, the κατέχων is "the young Christian spirit," or "Christ in believers." Olshausen follows those who go furthest in embellishing the figure of Antichrist. He works secretly for a long time, but will at last appear conspicuously in the body as an incarnation of Satan. It goes evidently against the writer's critical sense to make the Christian Church the temple of God, but he sees no alternative.[1] The κατέχων is the Roman Empire, or the Emperor as its representative.

One special class of modern Protestant theologians and critics has taken up the view that the prophecy refers in its full and proper sense to our own days, the middle of the nineteenth century, and that everything is leading

[1] Berthold. *Christol. Jud.* i. 16. Olsh. *Bibl. Comm.* iv. 506 sqq. Olshausen gives two grounds for this, (1) in the temple at Jerusalem was no image or throne of Jehovah, except the Ark. How this proves that the Christian Church must be substituted is not obvious. (2) The temple is not to be rebuilt. Matt. xxiv. 2. John iv. 21. But neither passage says so; and if they did, the words of Paul must be taken in their most direct, and here only possible sense.

more and more to the appearance of Antichrist. Thus O. von Gerlach; "In our days, powers of lying of the opposite side (to the Church of Rome), are roused, which point far more strongly and decisively to the approaching fulfilment of this apostolic prophecy." And he counts up the deification of the human race, the doctrine of the rehabilitation of the rights of the flesh, the loosening of ecclesiastical and social bonds, the loss of respect for authority, and attacks on the foundations of Christian faith. As soon as these powers of evil are summed up and concentrated in one highly-gifted man, who makes the world believe that in him the Spirit Himself is completely incarnated, Paul's prediction is fulfilled.

Heubner's view comes very near this. "The Man of Sin must be considered as collective, as a generation, though the generation may have a typical representative."[1] He thinks men will be ruled by a spirit proceeding from within the Church, and will fall into deification of nature and of self, naturalism, worship of reason and Autotheism. This spirit appeared in the Gnostics in Paul's day, and in the first centuries the check to its full outbreak was the power of the Christian apostolic spirit, after the fourth century the civil power that favoured Christianity. When the civil power is seized by this spirit of the age, it will break out. In the new *Zellers. Wörterbuch der Bibel* (ii. 44,) we read: "Among the judgments of God, advance the apostasy and the lawlessness, so that the predicted appearance of the Man of Sin will not be long delayed." At p. 704 it is

[1] Heubner, *Praktisch Erkl.* N. T., vol. iv. p. 176.

more exactly described. Under the conduct of the two witnesses (Apoc. xi., Mal. iii. 1), a new Christian temple will be built in Jerusalem, and defended for some time against Antichrist, but taken by him when he has conquered the witnesses, and he will then have the human spirit alone worshipped there as God. So Rudelbach sees the whole appearance of the antichristian period in gigantic form before us (*Zeitschr für Luth. Theol.* 1859, p. 255). Many other recent writers, on the contrary, have maintained that Paul was mistaken. So Düsterdieck (*die Johan Brief.* 1852, i. 330) thinks he gave a wrong date for the personal appearance of Antichrist. De Wette (*Theol. Handbuch.* vol. ii. p. 133), says that from human infirmity the apostle wished to foreknow too much, and was influenced by Jewish Apocalyptic writings, and a misconception of the sense of Daniel. Wieseler came to similar conclusions (*Chronol. Apost. Zeitalt*, 1848, p. 273.) "The κατέχων (James, or the Christians at Jerusalem), is long removed, but the Man of Sin is not yet come." Schrader sees in the Man of Sin the same image we find in Simon Magus, and infers that the Epistle is spurious. (*Der Apost. Paul.* p. 46 sqq.) Krehl is content with observing (*Wörterbuch* N. T. p. 638) that an accurate account of the Apostle's exact meaning is not possible, as he has spoken of future and obscure matters. Lüneman understands the Roman Empire by κατέχων, but his interpretation also implies that the apostle was mistaken. He thinks that Paul, "impelled by his individuality," wished to settle more about the occurrences and conditions of the closing catastrophe than is given to man to know,

even though he be an apostle filled with the spirit of Christ. (*Krit. Handb. über Thess. Brief.* 1859, p. 220.) Lechler leaves the whole passage unexplained, and is content with these results,—that the adversary is the Antichrist, only the name is not expressed, and, (against Kern) that the appearances will be in the religious, not the political domain. (*Das apost. und nachap. Zeitalter*, 1857, p. 132.) But Baur agrees with Kern in attributing to the writer of the Epistle, who is not Paul, the fancy about Nero's return; "There is nothing to prevent our understanding the same person by the Antichrist of the Epistle, as in the Apocalypse," *i. e.* Nero, and he makes Vespasian the κατέχων (*Theol. Jahrb.* 1855, p. 150 sq.)

Ewald has devised an explanation which as yet stands alone. "We have here a secret which in the first apostolic ages believers were only willing to talk of and propagate among themselves, so that Paul did not venture to speak openly about it." And he explains this secret which had grown up in the Mother Church of Jerusalem to be, that the κατέχων is Elias, who will return before the appearance of Antichrist, and will have to be put out of the way by him. (*Jahrb. Bibl. Wissensch.* iii. 251.)

Of recent English theologians, I know but three who have expressly dealt with this passage. Burton, in his *Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age* (Oxf. 1829, p. 400), understands by the "Man of Sin," Christians who, soon after Paul's time, renounced their faith and became Gnostics; he can find nothing in the passage which need restrict the fulfilment of the prophecy to a

period just before the end of the world. The apostle may have meant himself and the other apostles, by κατέχων. Alford, in his *Greek Testament* (Vol. iii., London, 1856), refers all to the future, finds the mystery of iniquity in all persecutions of Christians,—in Mahomet, the Popes, Napoleon, Mormonism,—and the κατέχων in secular states and rulers. Jowett has recently expressed himself most fully in a special dissertation *On the Man of Sin* (*Epistles of St. Paul*, &c., London, 1855, Vol i., 168—182). But he leaves all dark and uncertain, giving as the likeliest conjecture, that the Man of Sin might be merely a personification of the abomination of desolation mentioned in Daniel,—suggested to the apostle's mind by the prevalent worship of the Emperors.[1]

[1] [In his notes on the passage itself, Jowett explains the "temple of God" to be the temple of Jerusalem, *as an image of* the Christian Church. "Antichrist, ὁ ἀντικείμενος, is *not without, but within* the Church;" he is not a person, but "the concentrated and personified might of evil, possessing it by force;" ... "a form of evil, springing out of the state of the world itself, to which mankind are ready to give homage." In the dissertation on the subject the author says, "we know of no person or power existing in the lifetime of the apostle," to which the description of the man of sin will apply (as Caligula, Nero, &c.) He thinks τὸ κάτεχον may be the Roman Empire, or more probably the Jewish law, or both,—certainly not a person. But he disclaims the intention of adding "another to the multitude of guesses that exist already," as to any specific fulfilments of the prophecy, and treats it as having a broad spiritual significance, applicable more or less to all periods of the Church, and corresponding to what is said in Rom. vii. of the individual soul. This does not of course exclude some more minute and detailed fulfilment during the apostle's lifetime, (such as that given, *e.g.*, in the text), or in the future, still less does it imply that contemporary events may not have contributed to suggest its forms and imagery, so far as it is not borrowed from Daniel.—Tr.]

Catholic Commentators of the sixteenth and seventeenth century confined themselves to following the earlier interpretations for the most part, but showed more and more their dissatisfaction with them. Hardouin's view (*Com. in N. T.*, Amst. 1741, p. 613), and that of his scholar, Berruyer (*Paraphr. Lit. Ep. des Ap.*, Amst. 1758, iv. 62), stand alone; the falling away is a mingling of Judaism with Heathenism and idolatry at Jerusalem, in which a considerable fraction of the people take part, led by the Sadducean High Priest, Ananias (Acts xxiii. 2), who is the "Man of Sin," and the κατέχων is the existing high priest. That no word of his theory is found in the history, causes Hardouin as little scruple here as elsewhere. But we see that even he and Berruyer felt compelled to seek an interpretation in contemporary history, which drove them to this desperate device. Since their failure, theologians seem to have had a shrinking from meddling with this Epistle, and this crucial passage in it. For one hundred and thirty years I know of but two Catholic divines who have tried to solve the riddle. So complete a silence from 1730 to 1818, when Jahn's treatise appeared, and again from 1818 to 1858, indicates that the case was thought hopeless, and men neither found the common explanation tenable, with the Roman empire restraining Antichrist, nor could discover any other. Jahn, at Vienna, after eighty years, was the first to undertake the task (*Erkl. der Weissag, Jesu*, &c., in Bengel's Archiv. für Theol. ii. 376 sqq.). With his true critical tact, he saw that Paul could only be speaking of the temple at Jerusalem,

and cannot understand this being overlooked by all interpreters; (since 1818 it is different). But—and here we come on Hammond's traces—Paul speaks of a revolt, which was already secretly approaching, and the "lawless one" signifies the chief conspirators, who had their prophets, magicians, and conjurors. No one has adopted this unsatisfactory explanation since. And thus rested the interpretation of 2 Thess. and this *crux interpretum* till 1858, when Professor Bisping's *Erklarung* appeared in Munster. He returned to the unhappy view which all sensible critics seemed to have abandoned, and which has nearly all the Fathers against it,—that the temple of God is the Christian Church. He seems to have looked at the end for a complete ruin of the Church; for he explains, "Antichrist will banish the true God, the one object of worship, from the Church, and put himself in his place." I assume that he does not mean these words to be literally taken, and that Christ's promises to His Church are to fail when the adversary appears, as would certainly be the case if he succeeded in banishing God from the Church.[1] "The isolated and scattered movements of vice and godlessness which appear here and there, but are only recognised by a few as heralds of Antichrist, are the mystery of iniquity." This is a common but thoroughly unhistorical view. (1.) It resolves itself into a common place, which I cannot attribute to the

[1] [If, however, Daniel's prophecy is to be referred to Antichrist, he is expressly said to "take away the perpetual sacrifice," which is the characteristic "worship of the true God" in the Church. Dan. viii. 11. 12; ix. 27. But cf. infr. pp. 297, 8.—Tr.]

apostle, that sins and errors have existed and will grow—for two thousand years or more, as experience teaches—till they culminate in Antichrist. (2.) If Paul really gave out the movements of sin and ungodliness in his own day for heralds of Antichrist, then, limit and soften it as we may, we must admit that he was wrong. It contradicts all logic, to make events under Claudius and Nero heralds of another event which, after eighteen hundred years, is still to come; without some connection of cause there can be no talk of harbingers. (3.) The movements of evil Paul meant, must have been either within or without the Church. If without, in the wide field of Heathendom there were not only isolated movements of wickedness, but everything was full of it, the abominations were conspicuous, and could not be connected with an Antichrist to come long after Heathenism had perished. But if they were sins and errors within the Church, Paul could not deal with them as a "mystery," but would be bound to mention them, as in all other such cases, for the warning of his people, and not keep them thus secret.

Of the κατέχων Bisping says, that even after the fall of the German Empire, in 1806, he thought he must stick to the old interpretation of the Roman Empire, and in a wider prophetic view the Christian State, which, as a restraining power, opposed the universal falling away from God and delayed the appearing of Antichrist. Did he really think it conceivable that Paul, who nowhere else shows the least trace of any such distant prophetic gaze over the Roman Empire,

made statements to the Thessalonians about the Christian State?

And now let us review the attempts made at various times to explain the κατέχων, the apostasy, and the temple of God, where the adversary will seat himself. By the apostasy, which must come first the Greeks—Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and Ephrem—understood Antichrist himself, who will cause many to fall away; and Augustine joined them, for in his version he read *refuga*, and therefore adds *quem* (*Antichristum*) *refugam vocat, utique a Domino Deo* (*De Civ. Dei.* xx. 19). The apostle was supposed to mean a great separation from the Church, wrought by Antichrist. Others, as Cyril of Jerusalem, understood apostasy from the faith. It was still oftener interpreted of the subject nations rebelling against the Roman Empire. So Jerome, Hilary, Sedulius, Primasius, and the Commentary in Anselm's works. But this last gives a choice of two other interpretations, *sive ut multitudo ecclesiarum discedat a Pontifice Romano sive ut multitudo hominum discedat a fide.* According to Thomas Aquinas, the whole world must first be converted to Christianity, and then many will again fall away. *Futurum erat ut fides a toto mundo reciperetur. Istud ergo præcedit, quod nondum est impletum, et post multi discedent a fide.* (*Comm. in Paul. Ep.* Antwp. 1591, p. 163). There is to be, therefore, a double apostasy, from the Roman Empire and from Catholic belief. As Christ came at the time of the universal dominion of the Roman Empire, its break up is the sign of the coming of Antichrist. The two glosses,

ordinaria and *interlinearis*, as also Cajetan and Cornelius à Lapide, hold to the sense of a falling away from the Roman Empire. Engelbert, of Admont, makes a threefold falling away, of countries and nations from the Roman Empire, of churches from the pope, of believers from God. (*De Ortu et Inter. Rom. Imp.* c. 18). It has been shown that in the ancient Church the temple at Jerusalem was understood by the "temple of God." Cyril rejects as inadmissible, the view of its being the Christian Church, where Antichrist would be worshipped; μὴ γένοιτο γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ᾧ ἐσμέν. (*Cat.* xv. 15). But soon afterwards some Greek and Latin Fathers thought Christian churches (buildings) were meant, which Antichrist would get possession of, and be worshipped in. So say Jerome, Chrysostom, Theodoret. Jerome seems to have understood Christian churches only, without the temple, Chrysostom both, and the Arian author of the Commentary on Matthew expresses an anticipation that Antichrist is *obtinere loca ecclesiarum sancta sub specie Christi.* (*Opus Imperf.* T. vi. Append. p. 6). Augustine, who is altogether more cautious than other Fathers about the Pauline prophecy, and more ready to acknowledge his ignorance, leaves it doubtful what temple of God Antichrist will sit in, and only mentions the opinion of some, that Paul is not speaking of any particular person, but of a number of Antichristian men with their chief Antichrist, who will make themselves God's temple, *i.e.*, a Church.[1] This view had but few

[1] They said, according to the Greek, it was not "in *templo*," but "in *templum* Dei sedet, tanquam ipse sit templum Dei quod est ecclesia."

supporters. The Fathers who understood Christian Churches thought of such occurrences as took place in the East under Mahometan rule, where Christian churches were turned into mosques.

Estius is quite wrong in supposing (*Comm.* ii. 192, *Ed. Duac.*) that the view of some Fathers that Antichrist will get possession of Christian churches is identical with another, that the temple of God is a symbol of the Christian Church, where he will place his throne. On the contrary, there is a broad distinction; the one would be a mere act of violence and oppressive persecution, the other would require the consent of at least a great part of the Church. Fromond, one of the best Commentators of the seventeenth century, saw that the temple of God could not be the Christian Church, and maintained that it was one of the two former Christian churches at Jerusalem which had been turned into mosques, either that of the Holy Sepulchre or of the Minorites. (*Com. in Ep. Ap.* p. 315).

The application to Antichrist of what Daniel says about Antiochus Epiphanes led to the Prophet's words about the taking away for a time of the daily offering in the temple being referred to an universal abolition of the Eucharistic sacrifice in the Church, whence it followed again that the power and persecution of Antichrist and his adherents would extend over the whole world and all nations, especially if, as was often supposed, he was not to appear till the Gospel had really been preached to all nations, as the Lord said, and the Church was spread over the whole earth. This seemed

quite possible to the older Fathers, Irenæus and Hippolytus, who only knew the beginnings of the Church, and saw persecutions, which, if extended, must lead to an actual cessation of the Church's sacrifice and worship. The Arian author of the *Opus Imperf. in Matt.* thought Christians would fly into the deserts, and none be left to attend churches or offer sacrifice. Ephrem, Primasius and the Pseudohippolytus, equally mentioned an universal desertion of churches and cessation of the sacrifice during the 1260 days. Pseudoprosper anticipates the same from the united tyranny of Arians, Goths and others, breaking in upon the Roman Empire. (C. i. p. 199). But the most important Fathers, Augustine, Cyril, Chrysostom, John of Damascus, know nothing of it.[1] As to the κατέχων, the Greeks could not well understand it, like the Westerns, of the Roman Empire. Theodore, of Mossuestia, thought it was the "dispensation of God," Severian the gifts of the Spirit.[2] As the dissolution of the Roman Empire was immediately to precede the appearance of Antichrist and the

[1] It is the stranger that so many moderns—Bellarmine, Acosta, Valentia, Saunders, Viegas, Suarez, Malvenda—equally affirmed this ceasing of the Liturgy. We cannot conceive a world-wide power strong enough to close all churches and put down all worship at once in Europe, Asia, Africa and America, and all islands. Malvenda himself thinks we must draw a line somewhere. The holy sacrifice will be celebrated still in crypts, catacombs, caves, hiding places and deserts (*De Antichr.* ix. 11). He does not see that this destroys the whole point of the passage in Daniel. For he does not believe in an universal apostasy, but affirms that under Antichrist, "plurimi *ubique gentium* fortes et invicti in religione permaneant." Ib. ix. 22.

[2] Catena Cramer. p. 389.

end of the world, all this was thought to be close at-hand, and every fresh severity of persecution increased the expectation. Nearly all the older Fathers speak in this sense, the Alexandrians only being more reserved. In the palmy days of Arianism the disturbed state of the Church was supposed to indicate all the signs of Antichrist's near approach.[1] Then came the great popular migrations, and the weakness and splitting up of the Empire became still more conspicuous, and the Man of Sin was the more confidently looked for. In 409 A.D. Jerome says, "That which withheld is removed, and shall we not see that Antichrist is near?" Augustine spoke more cautiously, since Christ did not intend the time to be known; but Gregory the Great was not deterred by the mistakes of earlier Fathers from confidently proclaiming, that in his own time, the beginning of the seventh century, the last things were approaching, and Theodore Studita (in 813) thought he saw before his eyes the apostasy pronounced by Paul, and the consequent coming (τὰ εἰσόδια) of Antichrist.[2]

The application of κατέχων to the Roman Empire was

[1] So Hilary, "Necesse est in ipsam nos Antichristi ætatem incidisse." Cont. Aux. v. p 1615. He calls the Arians "imminentis Antichristi prævii ministrique," p. 1263. So Greg. Naz. *Or.* 14. Ephrem *Opp. Græc.* T. i. p. 44. Cyril of Jerusalem, "The apostasy is here; men are fallen away from right belief, and we must look for the enemy's approach." Cat. xv. 9.

[2] Hieron. *ad Ager.* Ep. 123. 16. Aug. *Ep.* 199 *ad Hes.* Greg. *Dial.* iii. 38. He quotes a vision or dream of Redemptus of Ferentinum, and adds, "Quid in aliis mundi partibus agatur ignoro. Nam in hac terra in qua nos vivimus finem suum mundus jam non nuntiat sed ostendit." Theod. *Ep.* ii. 17. Opp. Sirm. v. 410.

naturally seized with eagerness by the adherents of the Reformation theory about Antichrist, though they could not think of a Greek masculine which Paul could have used in this sense, for if the succession of Emperors were meant it should have been plural. These divines assumed the Empire to have been long destroyed, while the Church commentators generally hold it to continue in the German Empire, impossible though it was to point out the continuity. Such a man even as Stapleton did not scruple to affirm that the Church and Roman Empire were so intertwined that both would fall together.[1] Meanwhile, as on the Protestant side the exigencies of the system referred the beginning of the series of Antichrists back to the first centuries, a time was reached when the Roman Empire was still actually existing. Yet some Protestant writers of the 16th century felt the common view to be untenable. Tilenus maintained that Paul meant himself by κατέχων; Du Jon (Junius) generalized it into all good preachers of the Gospel. On the Catholic side, too, other interpretations were sought, or the enigma was left as hopeless. Ambrose Catharinus, after Augustine's example, confessed his uncertainty, and said no explanation he had met with satisfied him.[2] He urges the difficulties of referring the mystery of iniquity already working to a future Antichrist, as was commonly done, and seems to have felt that making a long series of persecutors and heretics the harbingers or pioneers of an Antichrist to come after

[1] *Opera*, Paris, 1610, ii. 422.

[2] *Comm. in Paul Ep.* Paris, 1566, p. 385.

two thousand years, was at bottom a mere shift and evasion; still he acquiesces in the view that Satan himself, working for awhile through various instruments, is meant. Estius and Justinian saw clearly that it was an unhistorical perversion to make the Roman Empire the κατέχων, whence the former suggested the apostacy, which must come first, instead, but feeling the weakness of this view, preferred with Augustine to acknowledge his ignorance. But Cornelius à Lapide and Calmet stuck to the view of the Roman Empire; the former thinking it would certainly be the last, and would endure till the end of the world, when it would pass into the kingdom of Antichrist; Calmet maintaining that even in 1730 the Roman Empire survived, though immensely weakened, in the German Empire, but that this very weakness, and the separation of so many Churches (become Protestant) were sure signs the end was near.

Bossuet thought Theodoret's view the most probable, that the κατέχων is the immutable counsel of God withholding Antichrist's coming till the end of the world; Picquigny thought God did not mean us to understand it; Mauduit that it was the public profession of orthodoxy; the author of *Les Sept Ages de l'Eglise*, (Rome, 1783, i. 311), that it was a great revolution to precede Antichrist, admitting the Jews into the Church and excluding the Gentiles who had become unbelievers, which Paul means by the apostacy and the κατέχων. The Heathen who now possess the faith hinder the coming of Antichrist. Alcasar thinks the Roman Empire is meant, and that in Scripture it is always considered as Heathen

and inimical to the Church, and that it discharged the office or took the place of Antichrist by persecuting the Church, till conquered by it under Constantine. Thorndike, who saw rightly that the "adversary" was a Roman Emperor, and the "so-called gods" Heathen deities, gives a very forced explanation of κατέχων; it is the Jewish Law, whose observance saved the Christians from persecution, (the mystery of iniquity,) and the apostacy is their release from it.[1]

Koppe, Heidenreich, Reiche and Schott, understand by κατέχων Paul himself, who, out of modesty, does not name himself. So, too, Böhmer. (*Jahrb. deuts. Theol.* vol. iv. p. 452). Wieseler understands collectively "the pious at Jerusalem, especially Christians;" but if an individual must be taken, the apostle James. John Peter Lange thinks the context implied the ancient social order (Church and State, chiefly the latter.) So Lütterbeck, all lawful authority in the world. Flörke says it "can only be the angel of divine fitness in the order of creation," but says nothing further as to who that angel is. Otto of Gerlach, premising that there can be only conjectures, thinks it may be "the supreme authority built on a religious basis, at first the Roman Emperors, in the middle ages the Christian sovereigns as opposed to the Pope, at present most Christian governments." Finally, Messner says that Paul undoubtedly meant a power of his

[1] Bossuet. *Avert. aux Prot.* 49. Œuvres iii. 83, Picq. *Explic. Ep.* S. Paul, iii. 400, Paris, 1839. Mauduit. *Analys. Ep. S. Paul*, Lyons, 1710, p. 66. Alcasar *Vestig. Arc. Sens. Apoc.* p. 540, (Lugd., 1618). Thorndike's *Works*, Oxf. 1844.

own day by κατέχων, but what power cannot be determined, or whether it was an institution or a person. And he makes an observation, correct in itself, that as the great prophesies of Scripture have several fulfilments, the last and complete fulfilment of this one, like the Coming of Christ which it precedes, must be looked for in the future.[1]

[1] Lange *Dogmat.* Heidelberg 1851, p. 1270. Lütterbeck *Neutest. Lehrb.* Mainz. 1852, ii. 231. Flörke. *Lehre von* 1000 *Jahr. Reiche* p. 186, Marburg, 1859. Otto *Das N. T. mit Anmerk.* Berlin, 1854. Messner *Lehre der Apost.* p. 287, Leipzig, 1856.

APPENDIX II.

THE RIGHT OF THE SANHEDRIM OVER LIFE AND DEATH.

When Pilate told the Jews to condemn Christ themselves, instead of demanding that he should do so, they replied, according to John xviii. 31; "It is not lawful for us to put any one to death." This answer is taken by De Wette as implying that the Roman government had deprived the Sanhedrim of the power of life and death, (*Erkl. des Joh.* p. 269.) Josephus is appealed to in proof of this, as saying that the Sanhedrim could not hold a court without the procurator's consent;[1] and the Talmud, as saying that forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, Israel lost the power of life and death; and, lastly, there is the analogy of Roman law. As the question has also an importance in reference to Christ's teaching about marriage, it shall be briefly examined here.

It would certainly be strange if Pilate, in telling the Jews to judge Christ themselves, publicly insulted the people and their rulers, yet so it must have been, if he

[1] Jos. *Arch.* xx. 9, 1.

knew they could not do what he told them. Indeed, he must have twice mocked them in this way, for he says again, John xix. 6, "Take ye Him, and crucify Him." Any one acquainted with Roman history and manners would think this repeated insult of a nation by its Roman governor at least very improbable; doubly so here, for Pilate was afraid of the Jews, and condemned Christ from fear of their denouncing him to the President of Syria or the Emperor. And again, this view is inconsistent with the Gospel narrative, which makes the fulfilment of Christ's prophecy about the manner of His death a result of the refusal of the Jews to try Him themselves, instead of being (as it then would be) the inevitable result of existing circumstances. The "analogy of Roman law" is no evidence that the Jews had lost their autonomy, and the cities and countries which retained it were numerous. Strabo observes that Marscilles was not subjected to the Roman provincial legates, nor, again, Nemausus and the whole tribe to which it and twenty-four other towns belonged. Claudius first deprived the Syrians of their freedom, because they had put Roman citizens to death, (*Div.* i. 60, p. 676, 681,) and the Rhodians were likewise deprived of it for crucifying Romans, for this freedom and autonomy could always be taken away at the will of the Emperor and Senate, and often was. It was for the sake of this free use of their law that the Jews, after Herod's death, so earnestly desired to have their land made a Syrian province, and a procurator of their own sent them. They hoped thus to be more independent than they had been

under Herod, and, had they been disappointed, Josephus would certainly have mentioned it. His silence justifies us in assuming that it was not so. And he makes the High Priest, Ananus, and Titus himself declare that the Romans had confirmed and secured to the Jews the free use of their laws; even after war broke out Titus offered the Jews autonomy, if they would submit, which they, therefore, clearly had not lost before.[1]

Josephus mentions, on occasion of James's condemnation and execution, under the High priest, Ananus, one limitation, viz., that the Sanhedrim could not hold a judicial court without the procurator's leave. But the very mention of this disability proves that the Sanhedrim had always the power of death. For else the complaints made by the "moderates" to Albinus, would have been very different, and would have concerned the arbitrary condemnation, not the arbitrary summoning of the council. Most likely the high priest had to get power to summon it once for all, from every Procurator, when entering upon his office. Any how the execution would have been a serious aggravation of Ananus' guilt, and a charge against the whole Sanhedrim, whereas he alone was accused, and punished by deposition.

Josephus observes on this, that the Sadducees exceeded all other Jews in harsh and shocking sentences. The Jews had then been towards forty years under direct Roman rule, with the four years' break of Herod Agrippa's reign. He adds that the Essenes punished

[1] Jos. *Arch.* xvii. 9, 4, Cf. 13, 1. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 6, 2; 8, 5. All Jewish writings of that date speak of "autonomy" as the great thing.

every contempt of the Mosaic law with death. Add to this what Titus testifies, that even Gentiles who offended against the Jewish religion, *e. g.* by entering the inner temple court, could be put to death by Jewish authorities, and it becomes the more incredible that they had not power to judge their own countrymen by their own laws.[1] In all cases of uproar, high treason, and disturbance of public order, the Roman authorities could judge and punish, but in religious matters, and what concerned the law of Moses, full power was left to the Jewish authorities to pronounce and execute sentence of death. Hence Pilate said to the Jews, "I find no fault in Him, take ye Him and crucify Him," (John xix. 6), *i. e.* "I find no proof of sedition or high treason, which are the crimes I have to punish. Whether he has offended against your religion and law I know not, or leave unsettled; if you think so, punish Him yourselves." It is unnatural and against history to assume that this was a mere mockery of the weakness of the Jews.

Nor is the attitude of Jewish authorities towards the apostles intelligible, except on the assumption of their full autonomy and power of life and death in religious matters. We read, (Acts v. 33,) that the Sanhedrim in great wrath was resolving to kill them, when Gamaliel changed its decision, not from any doubt of its power. Stephen's death was the result of a formal trial, and witnesses were heard, however passionate the execution;

[1] *Bell Jud.* ii. 8, 9; vi. 2, 4. Titus says, ὑμῖν ἀναιρεῖν ἐπετρέψαμεν. The criminal was therefore not condemned by Roman authorities, but given up to the Jews.

nor does it stand alone, for Paul says (Acts xxvi. 10), "Many of the Saints I put in prison, having received power from the high priests, and I voted for their execution." The Pharisees wanted to put Christ Himself to death for breaking the Sabbath.[1]

The testimony of the Talmud, that the Jews were deprived of the power of life and death forty years before the fall of the capital, cannot be accepted, for the date is wrong. Judæa became a Roman province not forty, but sixty years before Jerusalem fell, and then, if at all, this must have taken place. Selden quotes the Gemara (*De Syn.* ii. 15, 11,) to show that during those forty years four kinds of capital punishment were in use, and thinks the Talmud only means that this jurisdiction was often interrupted during that period, especially under Pilate.

What then did the Jews mean? (John xviii. 31.) They wanted Jesus to be *crucified*, and therefore wanted Pilate to pronounce sentence, for else they would have had to stone him, as they did Stephen. Therefore they charged Him with aiming at royalty, for that was a political crime which the Roman government must judge. They also wished Him to die, not after, but during the Easter festival, when the city was full of visitors from all

[1] John v. 18; vii. 1, 25. What happened to Paul in the temple shows that both Jews and Romans were aware of this right. The Jews say they took and meant to judge him, for profaning the temple, when Lysias tore him out of their hands; and Lysias justifies himself only because Paul was a Roman citizen (Acts xxiii. 27; xxiv. 6, 7.) If the Jews had no autonomy, it was Lysias's duty to protect any one, citizen or not, from their threats of punishment.

countries, and by the most shameful death, at the hands of the Heathen. For Jews to execute the punishment at that time, would have been a desecration of the feast, as we learn from Philo (*In Flaccum*, p. 976, Paris, 1640.) But if they had said this distinctly, Pilate would have answered, "Then wait till the feast is over." To preclude that, they said equivocally, "We can kill no one," *i. e.* (1) on a charge of high treason; (2) during the feast.

APPENDIX III.

ON CHRIST'S TEACHING ABOUT MARRIAGE.

THOSE who think that, in His two statements about marriage given by Matthew, Christ meant that it was dissolved or made dissoluble by adultery on either side, are compelled (1) to maintain, that the word πορνεία may mean adultery, (2) to find a ground for its being used in a crucial passage instead of the ordinary word μοιχεία, (3) to maintain the principle that one act of adultery on either side *ipso facto* dissolves marriage. These three points require proof. The first assertion must be most emphatically contradicted; πορνεία always means incontinence in the unmarried, never in the N. T. or Septuagint or in profane authors, adultery. Thus πορνεία and μοιχεία are always distinguished, as in Matt. xv. 19, Mark vii. 21; and the adulteress in John viii. 3 is called ἐν μοιχείᾳ κατειλημμένην. There is no ground for making πορνεία a generic term including adultery; when more than simple fornication is meant, either μοιχεία or ἀκαθαρσία are used with it, as in Mark vii. 21; 2 Cor. xii. 21; Gal. v. 19; Eph. v. 3; Col. iii. 5; Heb. xiii. 4. And Meyer, in proof of his view, that πορνεία in Matt. v. 32 means adultery, can only cite John viii. 41 and 1 Cor. v. 1. In the former,

the Jews say, "We are not born of fornication (are not idolaters) we have one Father, God;" in the latter Paul calls the cohabiting of a man with his father's widow πορνεία, for there is no Greek word for incest, so he could only call a connection which was no true marriage, πορνεία. Both passages are further evidence that πορνεία is *not* adultery. So in the O. T., both Hebrew and Septuagint, πορνεία (Heb. *zenut* or *tasnut*) and μοιχεία (Heb. *naphuph*) are always distinguished; the last is never used of the unmarried, or the first of a wife. The one exception (Amos vii. 17), confirms the rule, for it says, "Thy wife shall be violated (πορνεύσει) in the city" *i. e.* by force, which is not adultery. Both words are put together in Ecclus. xxiii. 33, ἐν πορνείᾳ ἐμοιχεύθη for emphasis. Kuinöl and others quote, besides Amos, Hosea iii. 3, where it is said of a wife, before called μοίχαλις, καί οὐ μή πορνεύσῃς but it is added, "Thou shalt not be another man's." The woman was bought by the Prophet for a slave, as a type of Israel; he does not marry her; she is his property, not his wife; meanwhile, she is to be continent, and πορνεύσῃς is properly used. The Greeks always urge that πορνεία expressly excludes adultery, and is only used of the unmarried. So Greg. Nyss. (*Ep. Can.* T. ii. p. 118.) πορνεία ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται ἡ χωρὶς ἀδικίας ἑτέρου γενομένη τισὶ τῆς ἐπι θυμίας ἔκπληρωσις, and Balsamon, p. 1048. πορνεία λέγεται ἡ χωρὶς ἀδικίας ἑτέρου μίξις, ἤγουν ἡ πρὸς ἐλευθέραν ἀνδρὸς γυναῖκα. Only in Greek, as in all languages, πορνεία and πορνεύω is used of a wife who has become a common prostitute. Thus Dio Cassius, 60, 31, says of Messalina, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξαρκοῦν οἱ

ὅτι καὶ ἐμοιχεύετο καὶ ἐπορνεύετο, for she actually did both; she contracted adulterous ties, and she went to a regular house of ill fame. So Clem. Alex. when showing the analogy between fornication and idolatry, says of this sort of prostitution, ὡς εἰδωλολατρεία ἐκ τοῦ ἑνος εἰς τοὺς πόλλους ἐπινέμησις ἐστὶ θεοῦ, οὕτως ἡ πορνεία ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς γαμοῦ εἰς τοὺς πόλλούς ἐστιν ἔκπτωσις. (*Strom.* iii. 552, Potter), where the comparison obliged him to give up the common meaning of πορνεία. Tholuck says πορνεία is used for μοιχεία in the *Itala* and by Ulfilas, but he is wrong. See Sabatier's Edition of the *Vetus Itala*, iii. 27, which reads, *Exempta causa fornicationis*, and so most MSS. and Jerome, and Augustine, who appeals to those he knew (*De Conjug. Adult. Opp.* vi. 393). Only two MSS. of the *Itala* (*Cod. Clarom.* and *Cantab*) render *adulterium*, as Tertullian did before and after him Zeno of Verona.

But, supposing πορνεία could be used for *adulterium*, that does not explain why Christ, or Matthew, should have used the word, where it was essential to define accurately the one ground for dissolution of marriage. Christ more than once uses μοιχειά here; why should He suddenly change the word for "fornication" if He only meant adultery? Most prefer to pass over this difficulty in silence. De Wette, Gerlach and Weiss say, (*Zeitschr. für christl. Wissenschaft*, 1856, p. 259) that it is because μοιχᾶσθει is used in the same passage in a wider sense, for the re-marriage of a divorced wife. But that contradicts the obvious meaning of Christ. He calls marrying a second wife or a divorced wife most strictly and properly adultery; and so it is, if marriage be indissoluble. The

connection of a married man with another woman, or of a single man with a married woman, is then, not in a wider and improper, but in the strictest and most proper, sense μοιχειά.

To make it intelligible that Christ, while declaring marriage a divine and indissoluble bond, should yet have annulled His own rule and allowed divorce and re-marriage in all cases of adultery, the principle has been set up that one or more acts of adultery destroy the essence of marriage, and the formal dissolution is only the recognition and natural consequence of an accomplished fact. Julius Müller says; "The binding force of marriage is broken for the injured party by adultery, according to Christ's meaning; he does not break it by re-marriage, for that is done already." (*Uber Ehesch. und Wiederverehl,* Berlin, 1855, p. 22.) Olshausen says πορνεία *is* a dissolution, not a ground for it; (*Comm.* N. T. i. 718.) Meyer, that adultery destroys, *eo ipso,* the essence of marriage; (*Exeg. Handb. über Matt.* 1848, p. 151.) Liebetrut, that marriage is actually destroyed by it. (*Entwickl. der Ehe,* 1856, p. 104.) Sartorius says adultery breaks actually and fully the bond, both spiritual and bodily. (*Lehre heil. Liebe* iii.; ii. 69.) Weiss, that this sin is an actual dissolution, not a ground for it. (*Schriftlehre von Ehesch.* i. 261.) Gerlach, that divorce simply announces a past fact. (*Das N. T.* Berlin, 1854, p. 73.) Tholuck consistently adds that the guilty party has contracted a new marriage. (*Bergpredigt,* 1856, p. 246.) Similar statements occur everywhere, and this is, at least in Protestant Germany, the prevalent theory,

and claims to agree with the Protestant Exegesis of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, for Gerhard said that adultery destroyed the *unitas carnis,* and thus annulled marriage, *quoad substantiam.* But till now there was a scruple in carrying out the theory consistently. When that is done, a view of marriage and matrimonial questions very different from the teaching and practice of the Christian Church follows.

According to the teaching of Christ and the apostle Paul, there are three factors of marriage, God, the husband, and the wife; to separate from a husband is to separate from God; a divine bond implies a divine right, and this can the less be annulled by the act of one party, since even the desire to annul it cannot always be assumed. No human act can annul a divine right, nor human sin dissolve a divine bond. From the moment when Christ declared that God ratifies and seals the marriage bond, and that what He has bound man may not sever, it is a law for the Church that marriage *cannot* be dissolved. And so the Lord understood it when He denounced on the three persons concerned in such a transaction, the curse of adultery; and Paul, when he made the marriage bond a type of the indissoluble union of Christ and the Church, and therefore itself indissoluble. It is a contradiction to make a generally transient error able to dissolve a bond embracing the whole life and all its relations, a sin against the lower and physical side of marriage destroy what is a spiritual fellowship and institution for the common bringing up of Christian children. Such a sin makes no chief end

of marriage impossible. The Heathen view of it as a "*consortium* of the whole life, and common sharing of rights, human and divine," (*Digest de Rit. Nupt. L.* 1.) is higher than this professedly Christian view, which, to make adultery destroy marriage, places its essence in carnal union. The really Christian view of the question, requires that the wound inflicted by adultery on a divine bond should not be incurable, but if a temporary separation follows, that the door should always be left open for repentance on one side, and true forgiveness on the other. Christ showed that forgiveness should not be denied to the fallen wife, by His way of treating the adulteress brought before Him, and inculcated it by saying we should forgive our brother, not seven times, but seventy times seven. And finally, if adultery is a real dissolution of the bond, we may infer the greater from the less. Stier says correctly, "Whatever is disgraceful in Christian marriage, is as good a ground of divorce as carnal sin." (*Die Reden des Hern.* 1851, i. 137). There is an unfaithfulness of mind, without any carnal sin, quite as much opposed to the inward character and ends of marriage. Incongruity of temper, if reaching to hatred, is at least as good a ground of divorce, as the seduction of a wife, or momentary offence of the husband, if divorce be allowable at all.

The perverse and revolting character of this view is clearly seen, if we only consider that the single, often bitterly repented, act of a man, is to have an effect often not intended, and destroy a bond of relationship whose speciality is its being something objective, withdrawn

from human caprice, independent of the changes and uncertainties of individual taste and will, and designed to endure for life. On this theory, either party can at any moment destroy the marriage, and, if feeling it a burdensome yoke, or violently enamoured of another person, is strongly tempted to annul by one act a contract formed for life, while the innocent party, however anxious to forgive, must recognise and accept the actual dissolution of the marriage, and let the children of the guilty party be left fatherless or motherless. Christ indeed only speaks of a man divorcing his wife, but it is quite indifferent, on the new theory, on which side adultery takes place. The *unitas carnis*, and therefore the substance of marriage, is of course equally destroyed in either case. One sin breaks the husband's union with the mother of his children, and joins him in *unitas carnis* perhaps with his servant maid, who has therefore a better claim to his hand than his wife. Far from hindering or forbidding the formal union of the adulterer and adulteress, one should on this theory seek to facilitate it; for *in fact* the new marriage is accomplished already, and the old destroyed, and a public formal marriage does but ratify a bond already contracted inwardly and really, and is more moral, or rather less immoral, than for the adulterer to be hindered from marrying his new partner and to form a third *unitas carnis* with another person. These are but some results of the new theory about the substance of marriage; it would be easy to name several others which would inevitably follow. Every thinking man can discover them for himself.

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